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FRANCIS LOVELACE, AND THE RECAPTURE OF NEW

NETHERLAND 1668-1674.*

CHARLES II, is said to have been caricatured in Holland with a woman on each arm and courtiers picking his pocket-this latter the last place, perhaps, they would have thought worth the trouble of picking. Nevertheless, to be a court favorite during his reign presented opportunities for profits and perquisites, of which the shrewd or needy-colonels, younger sons, and others-were not slow to avail themselves. If nothing offered at home, there were governorships, proprietorships, and land grants in America to be had almost literally for the asking. It was such an easy way for Charles to silence importunity and reward or gratify friends, to give them what they sought-whole provinces, sometimes, as large as France -a less costly gift to himself than would have been a snuff-box. Of Virginia in 1669, says Bancroft: "To satisfy the greediness of favorite courtiers, Virginia was dismembered by lavish grants, till at last the whole colony was given away for a generation, as recklessly as a man would give away a life-estate in a farm."

Some of these men-as, for instance, Sir William Berkeley, Lord Clarendon, and others associated with them-very well knew what they were asking, if Charles did not; knew that they were obtaining valuable prospective estates, if they could only retain them; knew that there were perquisites of office open to a Governor, such as might compensate for a few years' absence from court and court life. Few, if any of them, we may be quite sure, had in mind Addison's idea, that "the best perquisites of a place are the advantages it gives a man of doing good," Yet, it

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

must be said that, though the most of them fished the streams of the New World thoroughly and well, few, if any, brought home any satisfactory amount of fish. Colonel and late Governor Nicolls did not, for the reason that he was really an honorable and loyal soldier, and advanced, from his own means, to put the fort in a state of defense, more than he could collect by taxes. Colonel and Governor Lovelace did not, for a reason not so honorable.

The "Right Hon. Francis Lovelace, Esq.," of whom, and his ad-

Fran Louelacoe

ministration we now present the history, was the second son of Sir Richard, who had been elevated to the peerage in 1627, by Charles I., as Baron Lovelace of Hurley, Berks County. There Francis was born, and was about thirty-eight years old when he became Governor. He is not to be confounded with another Colonel Richard Lovelace of the period, who had repute as a dramatist and poet, and some of whose effusions have survived to our own day; nor with his grandson, the fourth Baron, who died Governor of New York in 1709. Nor was it the same family, since the title had lapsed therein and been later revived, from which came Lord Lovelace, Byron's son-in-law. Of this family the special founder was a lucky knight, and comrade of

Sir Francis Drake in the Spanish main, who, with the rich spoil there obtained, had built an imposing country mansion about thirty miles from London, in the parish of Hurley, and on the Berkshire side of the Thames. Evidently he had taste, for he surrounded it with spacious grounds and terraced gardens, and its hall looked upon the river. Greatly improved by his son, the first lord, the father of Francis, the old baronial residence of the Hurley Lovelaces, like the family itself, does not now exist; but we have a memento of it in this State, in the little town of Hurley, on the right bank of the Esopus, Ulster County, where Governor Francis Lovelace endeavored to build up landed interests for himself, but did not succeed. Living, however, as he had done, within such easy access to London as was Hurley and "Lady Place," (the name of the house) with aristocratic breeding and influence, and with such a personality as history assigns to him, there is no wonder that he should have been a favorite at the court of Charles II., one of those able to secure the plums of office. An ardent supporter of the royal cause against Cromwell, he had early become a colonel and a Knight of the "Royal Oak." Handsome, agreeable, and a polished man of the world, withal generous and amiable, without being prominent or able enough to excite envy, the gay life of the court certainly suited him, if it did not his finances; and he knew

how to make friends of those in place and power. At the time of his appointment he was even a gentleman of the king's "honorable privy chamber," As Governor he is said to have "lacked energy and discrimination," whatever the latter may mean. But he nevertheless had the rare "discrimination" for the year 1668 or 1673, when he left, of a profound conviction of the future destiny of New York. This prevision of a future for New York, yet remote and dim, was not, however, what brought him hither, and with him his younger brothers Dudley and Thomas, but a motive much more personal and immediate. They were emigrants for the profit and advancement to be thus acquired. And indeed, in that day it needed a strong motive and considerable courage to induce one, not bred nor used thereto, to adventure the vicissitudes of the voyage to America. The same uncanny ocean had to be crossed, but without that knowledge, even in the captains, or those appliances of the present, which make a voyage comparatively safe, rapid, and a pleasure. Seven weeks might be considered a fair passage; and amid what discomforts of the vessel-which might be of two or three hundred tons! What a passage was that of the Mayflower in 1620-occupying four months! Here, in a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons burden, were crowded forty-one men, aud about sixty women and children-two of the latter being born during the voyage; whilst in

addition must be counted the necessary provisions and stowage. Not all godly pilgrims, influenced by the highest of motives, these forty-one men; since, within a few weeks, two of them, (servants) fought with sword and dagger, the first duel recorded in the New World; whilst another committed the first murder, and for it graced the first gallows! As for the vessel itself, so leaky were its upper works, and its middle beam so bowed and racked by the winds



THE MAYFLOWER.

and storms they encountered, that but for "a great iron screw" which a passenger had brought from Holland, and which enabled them to raise it into place, they must have turned back in despair.

So in 1636 another company, not so famous in history, a company of persecuted Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, men, women and children, set sail in the Eagle Wing, of about one-hundred and fifteen tons burden,

"purposing (if God pleased) to pitch their tents in the plantations of New England." They numbered about one hundred and forty, more than did the Mayflower pilgrims; and among them were Blair and Livingstone, celebrated ministers in the north of Ireland. Much of the bread, not being well baked, had to be thrown overboard. Off Newfoundland they "foregathered with a mighty hurricane," during which, with damaged sails and broken rudder, they seemed at the mercy of the waves. From this danger, however, they escaped, but deemed it best to return; and did so-more fortunate throughout than the brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who, in those same seas, but earlier, went down uttering the gallant words: "It is as near to Heaven by sea as by land." It is true that in New England, prior to 1640, there was at least one vessel, a "large ship," of five hundred tons; and when the Dutch retook New York in 1674, they found there two ships (and only two) loading, one of five hundred tons and thirty-five guns, the other of one hundred tons. Mostly, however, they crossed the Atlantic in those days in vessels of two hundred tons. So, in 1663, crossed Mr. John Josselyn to Boston, in the Society, of two hundred and twenty tons and sixteen iron guns (most of them "unserviceable," he says), with thirtythree sailors and seventy-seven passengers, men, women and children; and again in 1671, he returned home

in a vessel of one hundred and ninety tons, the voyage taking seven weeks and four days. Scant quarters and long discomfort for a royal Governor and courtier of King Charles in 1668, with no Majestic or Teutonic yet in sight, nor for two hundred and twenty-four years-palaces upon the waves and a transit of five days and sixteen or eighteen hours! Nevertheless, being by nature, as Lossing says. "phlegmatic, indolent, and goodtempered," he doubtless bore it and took his dose of mal de mer with commendable philosophy. In fact, he already knew something of what he was to expect in getting to and in the New World; since it appears that in 1652, as a young man of twenty, he had once made the voyage under a pass from Cromwell's Council of State, had visited Long Island, and passed thence, doubtless by water, into Virginia. New York was then a Dutch dependency; but in Virginia were many who had themselves come over under the auspices of the nobility and were warmly attached to monarchy, of which he was an adherent. and among whom, therefore, he would be welcome. But of New York, city and province, of which he was now to be the second English Governor, he certainly knew nothing when he came, either as to its limits or condition. And, indeed, as to its limits, amid the different charters and claims, it was a hard matter even yet to tell what was exactly the province of New York. The Dutch did not know when

Stuyvesant surrendered. Massachusetts was claiming an indefinite right of extension to the west; and Connecticut, on its part, claimed that by its charter it extended to the Pacific. "Where, then," said the Dutch commissioners in 1663—"where is New Netherlands?" To which the Connecticut people replied, with provoking frankness, "We do not know!" King Charles gave his brother of York from the Connecticut to Dela-



HOUSE BUILT IN 1668.

ware Bay for a possession in 1664; and he, within three months, and without consulting Governor Nicolls, conveyed the whole of New Jersey to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, of his Majesty's Privy Council, for ten shillings, "to him in hand paid," and a rent of "one peppercorn," to be paid "on the day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, if legally demanded." Verily, a charter of King Charles was an immense in-

strument! "During the first four years of his power," says Bancroft, he "gave away a large part of a continent," and this without right, title, exploration or knowledge. "Could he have continued as lavish, in the course of his reign he would have given away the world." One might have asked, as did Francis I. of France, when the Spanish and Portuguese were making exclusive claims to this whole new hemisphere, to see "the clause in Adam's will" which made it his thus to give. But it was providential; it stimulated colonizing, and placed the country, ultimately, in the very best of hands.

Equally ignorant was Lovelace of the condition of his new government when he arrived during the spring of 1668. But as the duke had requested Nicolls to remain till he came, and to assist him in this, in July they together took a trip up the Hudson to Albany, stopping on the way at Esopus, where the location and look of things seem to have suggested to him the new town of Hurley, which, however, had originally been laid out by Stuyvesant. They then went on horseback over Long Island, and into Connecticut to Hartford and New Haven-a first visit to Governor Winthrop. And so, having with Nicolls, taking a bird's-eye view of the whole, its three principal towns and outlying villages, upon the 28th of August, Lovelace himself assumed the government of "his Highness's territories," these being, as he

writes to Lord Arlington, "the middle position of the two distinct factions, the Papist and Puritan." That New York at this time, should have attracted his cultivated tastes was hardly possible. It contained but about three hundred and eighty houses and fifteen hundred inhabitants. In 1643 it was said by the Director-General that "eighteen different languages" were spoken among them, and it is not likely that this difference had decreased, although the majority were Dutch, English and French. And thus, as he found it, New York resembled one of those islands of the South Sea, where birds of alien tribes build along the streets of the same feathery metropolis, where the air resounds with the din and jargon of their dissonant voices. but where (tolerant if not akin) the same nest receives and shelters a diverse brood. They were huddled mostly below Wall street, and were, by a large majority, women and children. Yet, even within that short space, and notwithstanding repeated orders, he could not get obstinate or wilfully negligent people to pave the streets, or keep them and the wharves and dikes clean from filth and garbage-evidently the same city in such respects when young as now that it has grown to be a home for all nationalities and conditions. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, ifwithin three months of his cominga severe epidemic ("fever, and ague, and fluxes") visited the city. It led

him to proclaim a day of humiliation and prayer, and to reprove "the swearing, intemperance, and impiety which he observed to prevail." Indeed, for a courtier of Charles II., he seems to have had unusual religious proclivities, and in this respect was much before some of his successors. One of his earliest efforts was to procure a printing press, for the purpose of having published a catechism and some chapters of the Bible, which the Rev. Thomas James, the first minister at Easthampton, Long Island, had prepared in their own tongue for use among the Indians. And he it was who, in 1670, by his official action and interest in the matter, not only enabled the Dutch church to secure a minister (from Holland), "an accomplished scholar and divine," the Rev. Wilhelmus Van Nieuwenhuysen, but to provide for him handsomely a salary of one thousand guilders Holland money, a dwelling house rent free and fire wood. It cannot be said, however, as Brodhead seems to think, that by his pledges relating thereto, "under his hand and the seal of the province," and by his order in council authorizing the Consistory to tax the congregation, he "virtually established" the Reformed Church in New York. It merely shows how, in those days and till the legislature grew into power, everything depended upon the disposition, and was under the control of the Governor, subject of course, to the approval or orders of the duke. The duke's role at the

time, as best for his interests, was toleration; and Lovelace allowed the Rev. Jacobus Fabricius, the first Lutheran minister, to practice his profession in Albany, although he afterwards removed him for bad conduct. It is to his credit that, throughout, he consulted the interests of religion and morality, and did not make his power offensive.

In things most congenial to the polished gentleman, however, in New York in 1668, evidently his scope was limited. Above Wall street were mostly commons, woods, and swamps, and in the latter, says Mr. John Josselyn, "frogs sitting on their breeches a foot high." The island was almost overrun with horses bred wild in the woods and commons, and from small and "unproportionable" stallions. One of his early "orders in Council" was directed against this evil, and to secure a better breed of horses. Moreover, there was, as yet, no fit wagon road even to Harlem, where had already settled a number of families destined to continue in the history of New York; the means of communication, such as they were, being merely the development of some old Indian trail. Ignorant as are most people of the short time which covers the great growth of New York, mainly since 1825, and considering the great duties and aspirations which now occupy the thoughts of a New York governor by night and by day, it seems almost ludicrous to read how, on the 22d of



NEW YORK OR NEW AMSTERDAM, 1673.

February, 1669, "Governor Lovelace and his Council, with others of the bench at New York, held a Court at Harlem," to consider first and principally "the laying out of a wagonroad, which hath heretofore been ordered and appointed, but never as yet was prosecuted to effect," though "very necessary to the mutual commerce with one another" of New York and Harlem: or again, to find him referring to the mayor and aldermen the important question of appointing a certain man, one Johannes Verveelen, ferryman across the Spuyten Duyvel, "from the Island to the Main," before he issues his own warrant-the subsequent "articles of Agreement indented" between the Governor and Verveelen covering two full pages, in small type, of the history of Harlem! Such primitive matters, however, or his many and most profusely worded "orders in Council" to the mayor and aldermen, as to, for instance, how many cartmen, and who, were to be employed in the city-orders written mostly, no doubt, by Secretary Bayard or his brothers Thomas and Dudley-or other occasional if more important duties of his administration, evidently did not free his life in the city from dulness. To his familiar, Arlington, he writes that nothing had happened lately except an Indian murder, and that was six weeks before-and evidently nothing of importance; that one might as well have crossed Lethe as the Atlantic; that the conveyance

from England was as slow as the production of elephants, once almost in two years, since vessels were uncertain as to the most convenient port; and he craves news, about theatricals, or any other matters of interest abroad. Indeed, just then, vessels of any kind in the harbor-a harbor fit to float navies-were but an occasional sight. After the treaty of Breda in 1667, Stuyvesant, being then in England, had obtained a "temporary permission for seven years," but "with three ships only," during which the Dutch "trade freely" with New York. Van Cortlandt and others ordered one of these, "a large ship," and the three came at intervals during that period; but nine or ten vessels in port at once, even of traders to Boston, the South, or the West Indies, was in 1660 an event to be recorded. Of the latter the Governor himself and some others in partnership built one, "a very strong and handsome vessel, but costly, the Good Fame, of New York." But such were the "Navigation laws" in 1669 that, although the king authorized the trading of two Scotch ships between Scotland and New York, as an encouragement to emigration, the English farmers of the revenue defeated the enterprise. Lovelace had gone so far as to arrange for settling two hundred Scotch families at Esopus, but no ship came: so he had the garrison disbanded and parceled out in the two new adjoining villages of Hurley and Marbletown.

In population the city itself remained almost at a stand-still; for although several people from Boston showed a disposition to invest in land, and one of them actually bought five houses, and although some from Bermuda and Barbadoes were attracted thither, yet others were being enticed away with "fair and specious pretenses" to new plantations further south, It received no additions of any particular account; remaining,



CORNELIUS STEENWYCK.

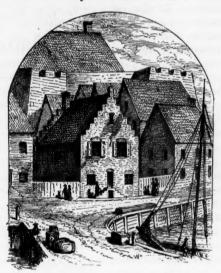
except as changed in some ways by Nicolls, substantially as it had been under the Dutch rule, with a larger but by no means predominant English element; so that, cut off as he was from intercourse with England, the Governor had to find such amusement and such society as he could among these old settlers. And, for a

place so limited and so populated and where the advantages of superior education were so limited, there was remarkably good society. Lovelace himself wrote to the king in 1668: "I find some of these people have the breeding of courts, and I cannot conceive how such is acquired-" coming from him, a compliment of the highest kind. Their libraries were meagre, for they had no printing press to give them books. What they had came from abroad. The only printing press in the colonies was, at the time, at Cambridge, Mass., and under rigid censorship of the General Court, producing only Puritan literature, which did not circulate in New York. Yet, in 1670, the three daughters of Anthony De Milt were known as the best Latin scholars in the city-not even excepting the Dutch minister, who had been educated in Holland. Mrs. Stuyvesant (Judith Bayard) spoke French (naturally, as the granddaughter of a French Huguenot minister), and also Dutch and English, was a rare musician, in dress a French woman of fashion; whilst Mrs. Bayard, herself Dutch, was, for her day, highly educated, and able to teach her three sons in almost every branch of a practical business education. With such women among them, and others who might be mentioned, no wonder there was society, and of the genuine kind-society which had even more than courtly breeding, which had intelligence and refinement, with solidity of thought and

character. Moreover, several of them had "good houses." That of Cornelius Steenwyck, who had moved from Holland in 1652, had handsome carpets, marble tables, velvet chairs, fine paintings and silver. And so, during the winter of 1668-1669, at the Governor's instance, they established a "club" of ten French and Dutch and six English families, to meet at each other's houses, twice a week in winter and once a week in summer; he himself being generally present and making himself "agreeable." They met from six to nine in the evening; the entertainment was simple "-chiefly Maderia wine and rum and brandy punch, served in silver tankards, and "not compounded and adulterated as in England"; and to speak French and Dutch and English was almost indispensable. But it was two hundred years ago. Neither their English, French, nor Dutch, written or spoken, was quite the language of to-day. When Mr. Harmanus Bleeker, of Albany, went as minister to the Hague some forty years ago, they told him that he spoke the Dutch of two hundred years before-that is, as the first settlers had brought it over and perpetuated it, such of them as continued to speak it at all. But there was one young woman in Holland who so thoroughly understood his old-time speech and loved it (and him), that, when he returned, she came too, as his vrouw! Nevertheless, how scant of material in the little city, in the time of Lovelace, was "society"-that which, under subsequent governors, grew into such pride and power as "persons of quality," "people of figure"-may be seen from the small number composing this club-ten French and Dutch and six English families. Stuyvesant had, indeed, endeavored to introduce into New Amsterdam the "great" and "small burgher" system of Amsterdam in Holland; but the list of the "great citizenship never exceeded twenty names. It became unpopular, besides leaving so very small a number who were eligible to office. Therefore in 1668 it was abolished, and every "burgher" became entitled to equal privileges with his neighbor. Of the list of 1657 (which includes one woman) Cornelius Steenwyck (whose house we have mentioned), was undoubtedly the chief figure under the administration of Lovelace. He was mayor for three years under him, one of his wisest and most influential councilors, a man of stirling character and wealthy. He owned a bouwery on the east side above Stuyvesant's, and ultimately, by the extinction of the Archers, became owner of the "Manor of Fordham" and a "Heer," subject to no jurisdiction but that of the Governor and his Council and the General Court of Assize.

But of that original list of "great citizenship," as distinguished from the "small," by 1668 several names had disappeared. How many of them remain in this changing city, and in what walks of life? Stuyvesant, Kip, Strycker, Van Dyck, Van Wyck, Bogardus, we have—long-lived names. It is interesting, however, to notice how many afterwards prominent, or still existing, begin to appear just at this time. Nicholas Bayard comes in, as a young man and Secretary of

nor Stuyvesant and Olof Stevensen Van Cortlandt, they as elders and he as a deacon, is one, who, twenty years later, will accomplish a name more long-lived in State history than Lovelace, one not in the "court circle" around him—Jacob Leisler. In 1663, two years after his arrival, he had married the widow of Vanderveen, a



LEISLER'S HOUSE.

the Council, a post he held for many years—and an official always. Johannes De Peyster, the first of the name, but already wealthy, emerges into public affairs, and by Colve, in 1673, was chosen Burgomaster—to suffer for it much petty tyranny from Andros. And in 1670, sitting in the same church-consistory with Gover-

well-to-do merchant trader, who had built the first brick house in the city near the fort; and having inherited his goods as well as his widow—in other words, having stepped into his shoes—there Leisler now lived, an active, busy aud growingly respected citizen, but not one of the Governor's kind, not one adapted to shine in

"society." In Harlem also, small as it was, families were appearing whose names are still well known in business and other circles. Just at this time Colonel Lewis Morris, a merchant of Barbadoes, secured a valuable tract, which his brother, Captain Richard Morris, came to occupy, thus becoming a prominent man under Lovelace. Dying, however, within two years, he left an infant of a year old. a "poor blossom," at nurse in Harlem, but who ultimately became that distinguished Chief Justice Lewis Morris, proprietor (in 1697) of the newly created Manor of Morgisania (1920 acres), the father of the more distinguished Gouverneur Morris, and ancestor of the still existent family. How many more in the city, not in the Governor's "set," nor holding office, nor rising speedily, but inindustrious and honest "carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, tailors, weavers, shoemakers, tanners, etc., were yet the lower stones of good families in the future we cannot tell, although some names might be mentioned. Daniel Denton, who visited New York in 1670, says that such "lived happily" in the city, in fact found it an "earthly Canaan." Nor, because they were not among the Governor's budding aristocracy, which so dominated the city under later Governors, are we to regard them as deserving generally the slur it so loftily cast upon them as "the lower classes, the rabble." It applied, if at all, to the Dutch, the original and larger ele-

ment. But we must remember Motlev's declaration that the New England pilgrims, during their residence in the glorious country of Holland, found already established the system of free schools which John of Nassau had recommended" the famous decree, also, which the Synod of Dordrecht, anxious to promote the wellbeing of Church and State, had in 1619 passed in behalf of education, and which led to church-schools throughout Holland; and that (as told by Brodhead) "schools were everywhere provided at the public expense, with good schoolmasters, to instruct the children of all classes in the usual branches of education: whilst the consistories of the churches took zealous care to have their youth thoroughly taught the Catechism and the Articles of religion." This was in Holland, full of intelligent and patriotic citizens, so noted as to attract scholors from every part of Europe, and therefore called in the learned world "Compendium Orbis" and in Holland had the earlier Dutch settlers been instructed. It is true that their children had not quite the same advantages, and that wealthy families sometimes employed "private tutors"-which implies tutors to be had. But in 1630 the West India Company had bound itself "to maintain good and fit preachers and schoolmasters," in order to encourage immigration-however inadequately it may have carried out its pledge. What, however, it failed to do, the

church was painstaking in doing. If it could not readily send a minister, it sent a schoolmaster, who as "voorleser" acted both as teacher and as conductor of religious services. Even before the church, there were a school and schoolmaster. So early as Stuyvesant's administration, says

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Brief Description

NEW YORK:

Formerly Called

New Netherlands.

With the Places thereunto Adjoyning

Together with the

Manner of its Scituation, Fertility of the Soyle Healthfulness of the Climate, and the Commodities thence produced.

ALSO

Some Directions and Advice to such as shall go thither: An Account of what Commodities they shall take with them; The Profit and Pleasure that may accrue to them thereby.

LIKEWIN

A Brief RELATION of the Customs of the Indiana

BY DANIEL DENTON.

LONDON.

Printed for John Hancock, at the first Shop in Popes-Head Alley in Creakl, at the three States, and William Bradley at the three States.

The above fac-simile of the title-page of the first printed description in book form in English of New York, is copied from one of the few existing copies of the original edition. The rare work was re-printed by William Gowans in 1845, with notes by Gabriel Furman. Daniel Denton was among the early settlers of Long Island, and as there was not at that time, or for more than a score of years after, a printer in New York, his little quarto was sent to London for publication. He was a son of the Rev. Richard Denton, a Presbyterian clergyman and a graduate of Cambridge, England, who accompanied Governor Winthrop to America in 1630.

O'Callahan, "schools existed in almost every town and village" in New Netherland. Nor, when the government changed hands, did the Dutch surrender either their church or their schools, but maintained both even in the face of opposition and at their own expense. In 1673 they obtained a special charter from the English Government authorizing them to erect churches and schoolhouses (which were often under the same roof); and in order to maintain the standard of instruction, they procured the teachers from Holland, at a "heavy and unusual expense." Evidently, therefore, it is a mistake to suppose that the better-known and wealthier families monopolized the education and intelligence of the city. and that all the rest were illiterate "lower classes." Leisler himself, in later times of intense partizanship, was branded by his opponents (and some histories have repeated it) as an "ignorant and illiterate" man. But, himself the son of a clergyman (as it has been recently discovered), it is hardly credible that in 1670 an "ignorant and illiterate" man could have found his way, and by their votes, into a Dutch consistory composed of a learned clergyman and such men as Peter Stuyvesant (an earnest advocate of education) and Olof Stevensen Van Cortlandt. Indeed, the city was as fairly intelligent as most young cities for its day.

It must now be said that the public acts of Lovelace, as Governor, were

few of them historically important, although matters troublesome to himself occasionally came up. These, however, he seems to have left, as much as possible, to others to arrange. commissioners and agents appointed by him, to whom he gave voluminous orders. And certainly he could not have had a more useful subordinate than his brother, Captain Dudley Lovelace, who frequently represented him, and sometimes received the same honors. Thus, when at Hurley and Marbletown, as head of a commission to arrange about the lands, they gave him an artillery salute, "when the President took horse to depart for New York." It was one indication of that spirit of display and subserviency to viceroyalty which was growing up, which later became still more marked, and through which certain families themselves grew into importance and power. But, to counteract this, there was another spirit in the community, which would not down, which troubled Lovelace, and which, in future years, made itself felt as a power; a spirit which, in 1691, was one and the principal reason for the execution of Leisler-that reason, as given by the Council of that day, being "the assertion of the government and authority, and the prevention of insurrections and disorders for the future." Its focus, under Lovelace, was Long Island. If, in the spring of 1669, he obtained amusement and pleasure out of the "general training" and the race-course established by Nicolls's fiat at Hempstead, and which he named Newmarket (so old is racing on Long Island). at the November assizes of that year he was not so well pleased when eight towns (Hempstead, East and West Chester, Oyster Bay, Flushing, Jamaica, Newtown, and Gravesend) presented a list of "grievances." There was Puritan and English blood in those towns, as well as Dutch. They wanted the promises made by Nicolls at the time of their "submission" kept. They wanted the privilege of "advising about and approving" laws, by "deputies yearly chosen by the freeholders of every town and parish;" in other words, they wanted a popular assembly in addition to the Governor and a "subservient Council." But it was denied that Nicolls had made any such promise, and the Governor (by his instructions) could make no changes in the laws as already established when he came. And as they also asked to be informed what was required of them under the duke's "Commission"-a question which might interfere with the "Governor's pleasure"-they were told bluntly that there was "nothing required of them but obedience and submission to the laws of the Government." That was all, submission. That it did not satisfy the Long Islanders, they very soon made evident. Taxes were necessary for the support of the government and (ostensibly at least) for repairs at the

fort, the latter of which were imposed on the several towns of Long Island; as to which Woods, in his history of Long Island, says that Lovelace "imposed duties according to his pleasure for the support of the government, and attempted a direct tax for repairing the fort." But the towns objected. "If they yielded in this they might be taxed to maintain the garrison, and they knew not what else." Southold, Southampton, and Easthampton were willing to contribute "if they might enjoy the privileges of the New England colonies" (Bancroft); Huntington refused, because her people were deprived "of the liberties of Englishmen." All of which, when presented to the Governor and his Council, was adjudged "scandalous illegal and seditious, tending only to disaffect all the peaceable and well-meaning subjects of his Majesty;" and the papers were ordered to "be openly and publicly burned" before the Town Hall at the next Mayor's Court, and "the principal contriver thereof inquired into and proceeded against." Nevertheless, the tax failed, as other attempted impositions on Long Island failed, the fort was not repaired, and the spirit of the people and their democratic desires burned on.

But if Lovelace suppressed liberty, as, being the duke's agent, he was bound to do, whether in Long Island or on the Delaware (where also, among the Swedes and Finns, its spirit gave him trouble) one truly

progressive and important act, one in which he took real interest, may be set down to his credit. And it was one of the few things he undertook which was carried to completion. It was the opening of a post-road and better correspondence between New York and Boston-very important in view of European complications and wars. He wrote to Governor Winthrop and enlisted him in the scheme, and at length put it in operation. often-ordered but evolved wagon-road to Harlem was. by the last of 1672, finished or made usable, and a monthly mail was officially announced to start for Boston the 1st of January, 1673. It is recorded as creating great excitement in the little village of Harlem, when that first postman drew up at the tavern door to refresh himself, as he undoubtedly did, with some good home-brewed Harlem beerhis "portmantles" (portmanteaux) crammed with "letters and small portable goods." He himself was "active, stout and indefatigable;" had been "sworn as to his fidelity;" was to receive an "annual salary," which, with his letters and packages, might afford him a "handsome livelyhood." Hartford was the first place where he might change his horse. And meanwhile, before his arrival in Boston, Governor Winthrop is requested by Lovelace (whom we are quoting) to "discourse with some of the most able woodmen, to make out the best and most facile way for a

post, which in process of time would be the King's best highway; as likewise passages and accommodation at rivers, fords, and other necessary places." But meanwhile the poor fellow, thus laden with letters, portable goods, and "diver's bags" for the different towns, is to jog on, through deep forests, through rivers, and in all weathers; to mark trees "that shall direct passengers the best way;" and "to detect and cause to be apprehended all fugitive soldiers and servants" from New York. Meaning place, and left on the table, to be well thumbed and critically examined, till called for or removed by neighbors or friends. Of course, at first, letters were few. But that "locked box," quietly awaiting its mail, was the small germ of the present bustling and surcharged New York Post-office. That postman, who needed to be "stout and indefatigable," was merely marking out a way. It was better when, in 1727, Ebenezer Hurd began his remarkable riding-career of forty-eight years, between

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WHO WAS TE FIRST MAYOR OF NEW YORK 9 TWICE DID SUSTAINEYPLACE

INSCRIPTIONS ON THOMAS WILLETT'S GRAVE.*

while also the "locked box" stood in the office of the Colonial Secretary in New York to accumulate his next month's mail; and what he brought, being "post-paid," was carried to the "coffee-house," as a popular gather-

Saybrook and New York—making thereby, through letters and parcels, a goodly property. And it was still better when, in 1775, he closed up his service (as seems probable) by bringing the first or second despatch of

buried in what is now known as "Little Neck Burial-ground," within the present limits of East Providence, R. I. The illustration in the text shows the rude characters upon the head-stone and foot-stone of his grave there.

^{*} Thomas Willett, the first Mayor of New York, died on August 4, 1674. His property having been confiscated in 1673, on the recapture by the Dutch, as he was then one of the Royal Council, he moved to Rhode Island, and was one of the founders of the town of Swansey. He and his wife were

the Watertown Committee with news of the battle of Lexington. But that first postman was doing more than he dreamed of, as he made his solitary and laborious ride. He was aiding to draw together colonies that would soon be States; and to whose great struggle in 1775, and its success, nothing would be more important than good post-roads and speedy intelligence—a fact clearly discerned by Jefferson and Franklin. For this incipiency of communication, then, we have to thank Lovelace, as really the great act of his administration.

One other act of his has been called so, the "most memorable," which, however, it was not. It was his purchase from the Indians, April 9, 1670, of Staten Island (Aquehonga Manacknong), "in the Hudson's river" (of which the "kills" were supposed to be a part), and which was then considered "the most commodiosest seate and richest land" in America. It was a good thing to have the Indians a little further away and their title extinguished, to prevent collisions. Had he waited a little longer, however, he might have saved his money. The Island must apparently, have dropped into his hand as a ripe plum; for Daniel Denton informs us (1670) that "wherever the English came to settle, the hand of God mostly removed the Indians, either by wars among themselves or some raging mortal disease!" Still, the price was not heavy-some "wampum" (which was exchangeable money), with some "coats, kettles" (second-hand, we may be sure), "powder, lead, guns, axes, hoes and knives;" the city was not as yet flush of old tin cans. To read of it, how sorry such a ground-floor chance must make intending purchasers of lots at the island, that they were not born when land was so reasonable! Lovelace bought it officially for the Duke of York, whose title to it, and through him that of New York State, was good. But Lovelace had a good eve, not alone for horses, but for choice spots. Moreover, the courtier of Charles II, had not come over to this "wilderness" out of mere philanthrophy, or duty to the crown; and, as subsequently appeared, his accounts with the duke in this and other matters were sadly mixed. If he bought the island for the duke with one hand, he must have sold its very best part to himself with the other, and forgot or failed to pay. For we find him owning a large farm where the Quarantine grounds now are, and having there a water-mill, with sheep and cattle; on all the latter of which, when the Dutch subsequently sailed into the bay (as he writes to Winthrop), they "breakfasted." Lovelace is also said to have had a "garden house" on Broadway; but it probably refers to the "Domine's Bouwery," a plot of about sixty-two acres lying between the present Warren and Christopher streets, and the greater part of which he bought in 1671. It belonged to

the heirs of Domine Everardus Bogardus and his widow-the Anneke Jans estate. It was an evidence of his foresight concerning New York, since it was not esteemed of very great value at the time. It is said, however, that one or more of the heirs did not join in the sale to Lovelace-a cause of persistent litigation down to recent years by "the heirs of Anneke Jans." And since (first by confiscation of Lovelace's estate to the Duke of York and then the vesting of this part in the crown, and second, through the generosity of Queen Anne) it became a part and a chief part of the estate of Trinity Church. Lovelace bought it as an investment which promised a great future for his family. But within a few months died a Dutch ex-Governor, also the possessor of a "Bouwery "-Peter Stuyvesant. are now no Lovelaces; but there are still Stuyvesants enjoying' the fruits of the sturdy old ex-Governor's latter years labors on his farm.

It would appear that in addition to buying—whereby he evidently got in debt to the duke—he must be building. Governor Nicolls had found the Governor's house, built by Stuyvesant about forty years previous to the surrender, "very comfortably furnished and quite attractive for a new country." Yet, for some reason, Lovelace seems to have erected another inside the fort—it being on one side the church and the prison on the other. He never furnished it, and Andros,

when he came, found "the stairs and some rooms quite rotten." Nor was it, apparently, paid for, or other work within the fort, whatever money may have been raised therefor. In fact, debt to the duke and everybody else ultimately worked his ruin. When the city was recaptured by the Dutch fleet (August 9, 1673), his vessel, the Good Fame, had already been taken in Europe. The Dutch commanders now seized and confiscated his property; his house had already, in the heat of conquest, been plundered; he himself, as we shall see, was absent; and, as Governor Leverett wrote to Lord Arlington, "it was expected that he would have kept himself out of their hands, though he had not kept the fort; but by one of their Dutch Domines he was collogued with, whereby they got him in (to the fort) for three days; and then-the inhabitants laid arrests upon him for debts due to them!" This, after confiscating all his property; and the commanders told him that, if he paid his debts, he might leave the country in six weeks! He was ultimately permitted to sail with Admiral Binckes for Holland, and not England, as he wished and had intended, "unlesse prevented." Before doing so he wrote to Winthrop, "Would you be curious to know what my losses might amount to-I can in short resolve you. It was my all which ever I had been collecting; to greate to misse in this wildernesse." So he had feathered his nest, and everything

might yet have come out well with him, but for his debts to the Duke of York. For his apparent inefficiency in losing the fort, he was at home severely reprimanded; but that might have been satisfactorily explained, or condoned, with a little loss of honor—especially as the city was so soon restored. Not so with his accounts. One of the duke's last orders to Andros (August, 1674) was to seize his estate. He was charged with owing him £7000; and Andros was to hold the estate till that sum was

rowed his means. But to offend the Duke of York was substantially disgrace, and, as to any public employment for the future, ruin. The bright light from that cloud fell, ultimately, upon Trinity Church.

It is now as introductory to Anthony Colve, the next Governor, that we relate Lovelace's loss of New York to the Dutch. One thing is certain that, when the war between England and Holland began in 1672, he had been warned by the king to put his whole government in a state



THE STRAND, NOW WHITEHALL STREET.

satisfied. Lovelace died before it was done—that is, before January 21, 1679, when the accounts of his estate were exhibited. Besides his debts, so loosely and generally contracted for goods, labor and the like, whilst he was himself "collecting" much property, there is little to be charged against his memory as a Governor. He principally angered the Duke of York, from whose exchequer he bor-

of defense; and that the declaration of war had been read at the fort gate and the City Hall. Moreover, the fortifications were vigorously pushed forward for a time. But it was a year (March, 1673), before the news came that a Dutch squadron was coming from the West Indies to Virginia and thence northward. He himself was away on postal business, but was summoned home. Unfortunately he

did not believe it. Soldiers were, indeed, summoned from Albany and elsewhere, and one hundred and thirty men enlisted; there were in all three hundred and thirty. But they were sent home, and only eighty left in garrison at Fort James. This was in March. In July, "having urgent occasions," he set out to visit Winthrop at New Haven. Yet the enemy, was that July, already in the Chesapeake. Nor was their steering for New York, a "mere acci-



STEENWYCK'S HOUSE.

dent" and without "orders." On the contrary, from documents now accessible it appears that the whole affair was planned before the fleet left Holland. In the secret instructions a cipher was used, and "163" stands for New Netherland. It was to be taken and held, or, if that was impractica-

ble, to be devastated. That it would have been taken by such commanders. with such a fleet is altogether probable, even if Lovelace had used the interval discreetly. At the same time, his neglect and unreadiness and unfortunate absence made the task an easy one. He could hardly call the capture, as he did to Winthrop, "digitus Dei, who exalts and depresses as he pleases, and to whom we must all submit "-a pleasant philosophy, and like him. So now, again, for a year and three months, New York is back in possession of the Dutch, with Captain Anthony Colve as Governor, and with the experienced Cornelius Steenwyck as councilor, in so far as the Governor shall "deem proper to ask his advice and assistance." Bayard is again secretary. The change, however, made little difference in the colony or province. The time was too short. Nevertheless, for so brief an administration, Colve, an old seadog, showed himself to be a man of firmness and vigor, whom Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the recusant towns on Long Island which were not disposed to submit, found themselves obliged to respect. Colve received "for his last year's services" two hundred and fifty florins, and Governors Andros stepped in-a man of more note in history than either Nicolls or Lovelace had been.

OLD COLONIAL DRINKS AND DRINKERS.

THE English settlers who peopled our colonies were a beer-drinking and ale-drinking people, and none of the hardships which they had to endure, in the first bitter years of their new life, caused them more annoyance than the deprivation of their beloved English malt-liquors. Bradford, the Pilgrim Governor, complained loudly of his annoyance and distress, while Higginson, the Salem minister, accommodated himself more readily and cheerfully to his changed circumstances, and boasts quaintly in 1629, "Whereas my stomach could only digest and did require such drink as was both strong and stale, I can and do often-times drink New England water very well."

But their beerless state did not long continue, for as the Puritan colonists grew richer, the first luxury to be brought to the new country was beer, and they quickly imported malt and established breweries and also made laws governing and controlling the manufacture of ale and beer, for the pious colonists quickly learned to cheat in their brewing.

In 1634, when sixpence was the legal charge for a meal, an ale-quart of beer could be bought for a penny,

and a landlord was liable to ten shillings fine if he made a greater charge. This low price was doubtless established by the Puritan magistrates, in order to prevent the possibility of profit by beer selling, and thus reduce the number of sellers. Josselvn wrote at this date, "I have had at the tap-houses of Boston an ale-quart of cyder, spiced and sweetened with sugar, for a groat." This could hardly have been, at that price, the New England nectar, which he praised so highly and which was composed of "Syder-Maligo Raisins-Milk and Syrup of Clove Gilly flowers." Josselvn complained, however, that at the "houses of entertainment called ordinaries, into which a stranger went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that office who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it and appoint the proportion beyond which he could not get one drop." It was also ordered that not more than an ale-quart of beer should be drunk out of meal-times.

So plentiful at this time had ale

and beer become that in 1675 Cotton Mather said that every other house in Boston was an ale-house; and a century later Gov. Pownall made the same assertion. In Virginia plenty of liquors were found to drink. The richer colonists brewed beer from malt, which they imported from England, while various curious makeshifts were also resorted to.

Beverly wrote of Virginians in 1703, "the poorer sort brew their beer with molasses and bran; with Indian corn malted by drying in a stove; with persimmons dried in a cake and baked with potatoes; with the green stalks of Indian corn cut small and bruised; with pompions; with the Jerusalem Artichoke, which some people plant purposely for that use, but this is the least esteemed of all the sorts before mentioned."

So extraordinary were the fruits and grains and vegetables used to make beer that 'tis no wonder the old ballad boasted:

"Oh we can make liquor to sweeten our lips
Of pumpkins and parsnips and walnut tree
chips."

Other mild drinks too were made and owned by every family in large quantities. Metheglin or mead, made of water, honey and yeast, was made by the barrelful. A kind of metheglin was made in Virginia which was much esteemed; it was brewed from the sweet bean of the honey-locust and great plantations of that graceful, thorny tree were set out to furnish plentiful substance for the

manufacture of their favorite drink. These metheglins and meads made from honey were intoxicating, though mild. An old writer says metheglin "doth stupefy more than any other liquor if taken immoderately, and keeps a humming in the brain which made one say he loved not metheglin, because he was wont to speak too much of the house he came from—meaning the hive." Loud must have hummed and buzzed the heads of the Virginian colonists.

Perry was made from pears. From peaches they "made a drink which they call Mobby and drink as Cyder." Spruce and birch beer were made at an early date, and above all "Cyder famed" from the fruitful apple trees.

Unfortunately this large catalogue of simple drinks did not long content our forefathers. "Cyder" was not left to quietly ferment and grow old, but was distilled into a fiery liquor called pupello or cider-brandy. A fiercer spirit still was made in inland towns from peaches, and when they could not obtain peaches, they turned undeterred to cherries, plums, crabapples and grapes, and made brandy from each and all.

By 1674, molasses was very freely imported to the colonies from the West Indies and "rhum—a strong water drawn from sugar-cane" was quickly known. In all the seaport towns, as soon as the cargo of molasses was landed it was turned into New England rum, or "kill-devil," as it was everywhere called. It soon

became cheap enough. Burke said, "The quantity of spirits which they distil in Boston from the molasses they import, is as surprising as the cheapness at which they sell it, which is under two shillings a gallon-but they are more famous for the quantity and cheapness than for the excellency of their rum." New England distillers quickly found a more lucrative way of disposing of their "kill-devil," than by selling it at such cheap rates. Ships laden with barrels of rum were sent to the African coast and from thence they returned with a most valuable lading-negroslaves. Along the coast of Africa New England rum quite drove out French brandy.

The Irish and Scotch settlers knew how to make whiskey from rye and wheat, and they soon learned to manufacture it from barley and potatoes, and even from the despised Indian corn, which furnished so many varieties of food for the colonists. So universal was the desire for these fiery liquors that it is said that in some parts of the country there was a still in every house.

Not content with their own manufactured liquors, the thirsty colonists also imported strong waters in large quantities. The Dutch settlers, of course, sent for their beloved gin and anise-seed cordial, and many wines came from Spain, Portugal and the Canaries. Of these the fiery Madeira was evidently the favorite of all fashionable people, and each and

every wine was strengthened by liberal doses of brandy.

In 1710, the strong drink of Virginia was "Madeira Wine, Cyder or Mobby Punch made either of rum from the Caribbee Islands or Brandy distill'd from their apples and peaches." Mobby Punch is a name which we no longer hear, so also is "Bare-Legged Punch," of which an old writer speaks, calling it even then this "awkerd and awfull" name. These names pale, however, before a terrible drink which was very popular in Salem, consisting of sour, household-beer simmered in a brass kettle, sweetened with molasses, filled with brown-bread crumbs, and drank piping hot.

A disease which attacked Virginians was attributed by Berkeley to "drinking new unfine Cyder Perry or Peach-drink which the people are impatient to drink before it is ready, or by the excessive use of Lime Juice and foul Sugar in Punch and Flip, or else by the constant drinking of Uncorrected beer made of such unwholesome things as some people make use of brewing." No wonder the Virginians were ill.

The Puritan magistrates in New England made at a very early date a decided stand, not only against excessive drinking by strangers, as Josselyn complains, but against the habit of drunkenness in their citizens. Drunkards were in 1636 in Massachusetts, subject to fine and imprisonment in the stocks; and sellers were

forbidden to furnish the tipplers with any more liquor. An habitual drunkard was punished by hanging a great letter D. around his neck. In 1630, Governor Winthrop abolished the "Vain Custom" of drinking healths at his table, and in 1639, the court publicly ordered the cessation of the practice because "it was a thing of no use, it induced drunkenness and quarrelling, it wasted wine and beer, and it was troublesome to many, forcing them to drink more than they wished"; and a fine of twelve shillings was imposed on each healthdrinker. In Connecticut no man could drink over half a pint of wine at a time or tipple over half an hour or drink at all after nine o'clock at night.

All these rigid laws had their effect, and New England people were sober and law-abiding, Boston was an especially orderly town. Several visiting and resident clergymen testified that they had not seen a drunken man in the Massachusetts colony in many years. The following quotation will show how rare was drunkenness and how abhorred. Sewall wrote in 1686, "Mr. Shrimpton and others came in a coach from Roxbury about nine o'clock or past, singing as they came, being inflamed with drink. At Justice Morgans they stop and drink healths and curse and swear to the great disturbance of the town and grief of good people. Such high handed wickedness has hardly been heard of before in Boston."

Still all classes drank liquor to some extent, the grave Judge himself writes of "Grace-cups" and many "good drinks," and sent gifts of wine and strong liquor to his friends, and says "I treated, and the Deputies treated."

Flip was at this time a universal and "most insinuating" drink, and continued to be a prime favorite for a century and a half. It was made of home-brewed beer, sweetened with sugar, or dried pumpkin, and given a good dash of New England or Jamaica rum, and was stirred in a great mug or pitcher with a red-hot iron called a "loggerhead" or "hottle," which made the mixture boil and foam and gave it a burnt, bitter flavor. In some hospitable homes the loggerhead was kept always heated in the coals of the fireplace ready to give its foaming welcome to every visitor.

The New England Almanack for 1702 thus bears its testimony to the customs of the times.

DECEMBER.

The days are short, the weather cold, By Tavern-fires tales are told. Some ask for dram when first come in, Others with flip or bounce begin.

JANUARY.

Ill Husbands now in taverns sit,
And spend more money than they get,
Calling for drink, and drinking ready,
Tho many of them poor and needy.

Even the children drank strong drinks in those times. In a chapter of advice upon the rearing of children in an old almanac, we learn that "very young children must not drink cold drinks but must have their beer heated, and must first eat a piece of brown bread before drinking beer or wine." A young miss of seven years was sent from the Barbadoes to live with her grandmother in Boston, and with her maid left the house in high dudgeon because she was given water only to drink. A letter of remonstrance is still in existence from the parents of the determined young lady to the temperate grandparent, saying that Missy had always been brought up as a lady and must have wine and beer with every meal. From the great mug of flip or bowl of punch that was nightly prepared for the grown members of the family, the children were each given a sip to warm them before going to bed.

Cobbett, who thought drinking a national disease, said that "at all hours of the day little boys at or under twelve years of age, go into stores and tip off their drams."

In Virginia the amount of drinking among the clergy was notorious. Mr. Parton in his life of Thomas Jefferson says, "The tales we read of the clergy of old Virginia stagger belief, though it is clergymen who report them. We read of one who was invited after dinner to a planter's house where he drank so much that he had to be tied in his gig and a servant sent to lead his horse home. One jolly parson comes down to us, reeling up and down the porch of a tavern, bawling to the passers-by to come and drink with him. Another is remembered

as a jovial hunter who died cheering on the chase. One old clergyman is remembered as staggering towards the altar at the time of communion, when the rector who was officiating ordered him back to his seat. The monthly dinners ci the clergy have not yet passed out of mind, to which men would ride for thirty or forty miles, and revel far into the night. The court records of Hampton show that a clergyman of that period was tried for drunkenness."

The Bishop of London was shocked at these scandals and sent a commissary to investigate, and weddings in private homes were at once forbidden by him because of the habit clergymen had of "being drunk in such times and places." Directions were sent over expressly indicating when a clergyman should be considered drunk. "If a clergyman sat an hour or more with a company that were drinking strong drink (not wine) and took the cup as it went the rounds of the table, and drank the healths like the rest of the company" there were grounds of proceeding against him. Not only by the church commissary were rules given as to when a person should be considered drunk. In various towns the magistrates gave vivid descriptions and minute and elaborate details of the appearance and behavior of a person who had been drinking too freely, and the toper could thus be readily detected in his offence, arrested and fined or imprisoned. Students at college also

drank freely. At Harvard they were served in the early days at "commons," with beer at dinner and at breakfast, or "beever" as it was called. Cider at a later date supplanted beer, and students were allowed all the cider they wished to drink. It was served in two quart tankards, which were passed from hand to hand down the table. A vender was licensed in Cambridge to sell beer, cider, and metheglin to the students, "not over twelve barrels of beer," however, to each collegian. At the Commencement Dinner in 1703, eighteen gallons of wine, four barrels of beer and one of cider were drank. The entire class of 1760 was suspended for drunkenness, for bringing in and drinking so much rum.

The Quakers, though pledged to "temperance in all things," were not a whit behind their neighbors. The thrifty Penn, at an early date, established breweries and wine manufactories, for it was estimated that in one year 50,000 pounds went out of the colonies for liquors and wines. An enormous sum when we consider the number of the population.

In the early part of the eighteenth century it was estimated that in Philadelphia one house in ten was an ale-house. In 1726 the yearly meeting of Friends adopted resolutions against giving liquors at "public vendues," or auctions, as it induced too high bidding. In 1736 the Quakers found it necessary to protest against giving liquor to children;

and also to women who "felt that they must have two or three drams in the morning." Liquor was cheap enough for all to drink. In 1719 rum was only three shillings ninepence a gallon; and in 1757, New England and Pennsylvania rum remained the same price, while West India rum was two-pence more a gallon.

In 1744, William Black records in his diary that in Philadelphia he was given cider and punch for lunch; rum and brandy before dinner; punch, Madeira, port and sherry at dinner; "bounce" and liqueurs with the ladies after dinner, and wine and spirits until bed-time. Well may he write that they "were as liberal with wine as an apple-tree with fruit on a windy day."

Philadelphia's luxury increased after the Revolution, and John Adams' diary, kept when he was a delegate at the first Continental Congress, has a succession of such entries as these:

"Went with William Barrell to his store, where we drank punch and ate dried smoked sprats with him.

"Dinner with Joseph Reed. We drank sentiments until eleven o'clock—Lee had dined with Dickinson and drank Burgundy all the afternoon.

"At Mr. Powells, curds and cream, sweetmeats of various sorts, twenty sorts of tarts, fools' trifles, floating islands, whipped syllabubs, Parmesan cheese, punch, wine, porter, beer."

One can imagine he would need

punch and wine and porter and beer, to balance "twenty sorts of tarts," to say nothing of sweetmeats and trifles. At Quaker weddings the consumption of punch, toddy and mulled wine was enormous; not only was a steady drinking kept up at the bride's house for days, but cake and punch were sent out to the entire neighborhood.

In Newport the rich Quaker merchants had cellars well stocked with wines. Friend Elam, the wealthy owner of the beautiful estate of Vancluse, partook so freely of his own good wines at his Thursday dinners, (to which all his friends were invited each week) that these carousals became a scandal to the community, and he was notified that a committee of Friends would wait upon him and administer counsel and reproof. Friend David Buffum, who was a weighty and worthy Quaker, was appointed chairman of the committee, and upon the appointed day they all solemnly repaired to Friend Elam's beautiful house. The day was raw and cold, and the courteous host offered to them a hot sangaree, which he said was so smooth and mild that a small glass would hurt no one, and was most necessary for their health. All soberly partook of the sangaree, which though composed of choice wines had also as an ingredient some forty year old cognac. From sipping they fell to drinking, and finally Chairman Buffum was seized with a violent vertigo, which was only relieved by putting him to bed, while the other members of the drab-coated, broad-brimmed temperance committee were sent reeling home in broad daylight, each supported by a negro servant, to steady his sangareefilled legs. Every gathering of people was, in those early days, a scene of riotous drinking-a house-raising, a corn-husking, a timber-rolling, a muster, a lottery-drawing, a christening, a wedding, and even an ordination of a minister and a funeral.

In New York whole pipes of Madeira and casks of beer were consumed at a funeral; and in New York a terrible punishment was devised for a drunkard. He was forced to drink three quarts of salt and water, and a large dose of lamp oil. 'Twere well if that punishment had never been abolished. The Dutch, when they invited guests to a funeral, sent a scarf, and gloves, and bottle of Madeira to each invited person. Cake and hot-spiced punch were served in Pennsylvania to all present at a funeral; on one occasion five hundred persons were thus "treated." At the funeral of the Rev. Thomas Cobbett, minister of Lynn, who died in 1680, this was the bill of expenses:-

Pounds. Shillings. I barrel wine, 6 2 barrels cider, II 82 pounds sugar, 2 And some spice and ginger for the

Another funeral bill was for thirty-

two gallons wine, 104 pounds of sugar, and a large quantity of cider, and a committee was appointed to look after the burning of wine and heating of cider at the funeral. This is a description of a New England funeral at a somewhat later date. "Every one as he entered took off his hat with his left hand, smoothed down his hair with his right, walked up to the coffin, gazed upon the corpse, passed on to the table, took a glass of his favorite liquor, went out in front of the house, talked politics, or swapped horses, until it was time to lift." A very worthy old gentleman, in the early part of this century complained with much bitterness that "temperance had done for funerals."

In South Carolina, funerals were so ostentatious, so many gloves and rings, and so much liquor was provided, that often the living members of the family were left impoverished by the funeral expenses. But in South Carolina heavy drinking was so prevalent every where, and so many men died young, as the result of their excesses, that a large proportion of the plantations were carried on by women. Ramsay, the State historian, declares that drunkenness was the endemic sin of the State. Of course, many protests were made against such excessive drinking. often, however, on the ground of the wasteful expense. Rev. Andrew Eliot wrote in 1735, "'Tis surprising what prodigious sums are expended

for spirituous liquors, in this one poor Province—more than a million of our old currency in a year." Dr. Tenney laments that the taverns of Exeter were "thronged with people who seldom retired sober;" and a strenuous but ineffectual effort was made to "prevent tippling in the forenoon."

Many of the advertisements in the newspapers of the day show to what extent punch-drinking existed in the eighteenth century, and show of what ingredients the punch was composed. and some descriptions are certainly most appetizing. Here is one from the "Salem Gazette" in 1741. "Extraordinary good and very fresh Orange Juice, which some of the very best Punch Tasters prefer to Lemmon at one dollar per gallon, Also very good Lime Juice and Shrub to put into Punch at the 'Basket of Lemmons,' J. Crosby, Lemmon Trader." So it would seem that there was a profession of punch-tasting.

Here is another advertisement of July 9th, 1741, at Lyme, Connecticut. "There is now at Lyme, the first Town on the East side of our river, at the Tail of a Saw mill a body of Ice as much as two carts can draw, clear and cold, and I believe it might last there a month longer were it not that so many resort there to drink Punch made of it. If any of Boston people have a mind for a taste, let them come quickly and for 18 pence a bowl they shall be complimented with a Kindly, Welcome Sir, for Your Money."

Punch drinking had by that time evidently quite superseded the drinking of the milder beer. Bennett, an English traveler, wrote thus in 1740, of American beverages, "As to drink, they have no good beer in this country. Madeira wines and rum-punch are the liquors they drink in common. With their victuals the generality of the people drink cider. But there are several brewers in the town that brew for the shipping and serve some families with table-beer, which is very cheap—less than half the price we pay in London. But cider being cheap likewise, and the people used to it, they don't encourage maltliquors. They pay about three shillings sterling a barrel for cider."

The inventories sent to the government by New Jersey and Delaware farmers, whose possessions were destroyed by the Revolutionary troops, and who expected redress for their losses, have been preserved in the State archives. These inventories give an absolutely correct list of the furniture and possessions of the country residents in that locality at that date. The amount of strong and mild liquor that each family possessed was most astonishing. Even where their furniture was scanty, and their clothing common-place, their cellars were well-stocked with barrels of cider and metheglin, and pipes of Madeira, and kegs of rum and peach brandy.

It was the custom everywhere "6 1-2 Pints Spirits 3 5 among people of fashion to serve a and so on till a total of 59 pounds

great punch-bowl of egg-nogg, flip, or punch before dinner; in New York they served "rack punch" made of arrack. If the bowl were not too large and heavy all drank directly from it without the ceremony of intermediate glasses. Even at public dinners enormous quantities of various beverages were furnished. Here is an abstract of an election dinner to the General Court in Massachusetts in 1769. Two hundred and four dinners, seventy-two bottles of Madeira, twenty-eight bottles of Lisbon wine, ten of claret, seventeen of port, eighteen of porter, fifteen double bowls of punch and a large quantity of cider. A double bowl of punch held two quarts, and there were also "thribble" bowls, which each held three quarts. An old bill of an account at the Wolfes Head Tavern, in famous Newburyport runs thus:

Messrs. Joseph Stanwood and others of the Town of Newburyport for Sundry Expenses at my house Sept 26th 1765 at the Greate Uneasyness and Tumult on occasion of the Stamp Act.

To William Davenport

To William Davenpor			
	£	sh.	d.
To 3 Bowls Punch by Cap-			
tain Roberts Order	3	7	6
" 7 Double Bowls Punch	7	17	6
" 1 Mug Flip 3d. to a			
Thribble Bowl Punch	I	19	9
" Bowl Egg Toddy		7	
" 6 1-2 Pints Spirits	3	5	
			1-

and 17 shillings was reached, which was, of course, in "Old Tenor." Of this only two pounds were for supper and coffee in the morning. Well might we say "O, monstrous! but one penny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack." Upon a computation based upon the number of inhabitants and the probable number present, certainly over a gallon of punch must be allowed to each person. Let us hope their "uneasyness" was allayed by the "double" and "thribble" bowls of the delicious fluid. When we read such bills as this we think it no wonder that Baron Riedesel wrote of New England inhabitants, "most of the males have a strong passion for strong drink especially rum and other alcoholic beverages."

In 1792, Gov. Hancock gave a dinner to the Fusileers, at the Merchants Club in Boston. As there were eighty dinners paid for, there were, of course, eighty diners. They drank one hundred and thirty-six bowls of punch, twenty-one bottles of sherry and a quantity of brandy. But these dinners, in which the liquor was in such large proportion to the number of guests, might be cited in large numbers. Gov. Hancock always entertained most liberally. D'Estaing lived for weeks at his house, during the War of Independence, and with forty officers dined daily in the most sumptuous manner. Madam Hancock complained that during this

visit D'Estaing went to bed drunk, with his spurs on, and tore her best satin damask bed-coverlet to pieces.

But we will not tell of our Revolutionary Statesmen and heroes, who drank to excess, for their number was legion and the relation is neither edifying nor pleasant, but we will tell of one who did not drink.

Col. Marion, the Revolutionary "Swamp-fox," was very determined in many of his ideas and was bitterly opposed to drinking in excess. At a dinner given in Charleston in 1780, it was determined to play him a trick. After the repast was ended. the host rose and said, "Gentlemen I have a few bottles left of old '32 and and in that wine I propose a toast . . . Health and happiness to the defenders of Fort Moultrie." Every eye was fixed on Marion, who simply tasted his glass of wine, and at once uproar arose, with cries of "Bumpers All"-"No Retreat"-The host at once locked the door, threw the key out of the window into the street and exclaimed, "By the laws of good-fellowship no man leaves this room till all the liquor is drunk." Marion at once sprung from the window of the room, which was in the second story of the house, and in so doing sprained his ankle.

That there were temperance workers in the early days of the Republic, who wished to establish temperance drinks this article printed in a Philadelphia newspaper would seem to prove. Philadelphia, July 23, 1788.
A correspondent wishes that a monument could be erected in Union Green with the following inscription

"In Honour of

American Beer and Cyder.

It is hereby recorded for the information of strangers and posterity that 17,000 Assembled in this Green on the 4th of July 1788 to celebrate the establishment of the Constitution of the United States and that they departed at an early hour without intoxication or a single quarrel. They drank nothing but Beer and Cyder. Learn Reader to prize these invaluable liquors and to consider them as the companions of these virtues which can alone render our country free and respectable

Learn likewise to despise

Spirituous Liquors as Anti Federal and to consider them as the companions of all those vices which are calculated to dishonour and enslave our country." With this suggestion of a Federal drink in Federal times we will leave the old colonial drinks and drinkers. To some noble temperance worker this glimpse, looking backward at the "good old times" may show by comparison much cause for congratulation in the condition of things in these better present times.

As for the tipplers, topers and drunkards, they mournfully will sing—

"Would our bottles but grow deeper, Did our wine but once get cheaper, Then on earth there might unfold The golden times, the age of gold?

But not for us; we are commanded, To go with temperance even-handed. The golden age is for the dead, We've got the paper age instead.

For oh! our bottles still decline, And dearer daily grows our wine, And flat and void our pockets fall, Faith! soon we'll have no times at all."

ALICE MORSE EARLE.



THE RECORD OF A NEW ENGLAND TOWN FROM THE PASSAGE OF THE STAMP ACT TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. 1766-1776.



A careful study of the records of a New England town during the eventful ten years preceding the Declaration of Independence will reward the student of American history with much that is interesting and will reveal to him one of the great forces which contributed to the successful accomplishment of our Independence. It will show that resistance to the oppression of Great

Britain was not alone, or chiefly, the work of a few leaders, but that its inspiration and sustaining force came from the masses of the people who assembled in that good old New England Institution, of which Samuel Adams was called the father—The Town Meeting.

All over New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, these town meetings were frequently held during these exciting times and the inhabitants entered into the discussion of questions of state with great zeal, as though the whole solution depended entirely upon them-as indeed it did. There were of course leaders in every town; men who were in touch with the leaders of the neighboring towns on the great public questions of the day and, receiving their inspiration from Adams and Warren and others in Boston, kindled and diffused the spirit of patriotism among the people at home, leavened the whole mass and made the contest a genuine contest of the people.

In illustration of this idea, this paper presents extended extracts from the town records of Dedham which was at that time a part of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, but since 1793 the county seat of Norfolk. This ancient country town, ten miles from Boston, was incorporated as early as 1636 and, in 1765, about the time these records begin, had less than two thousand inhabitants.

Such quotations are given as, need-

ing little comment or explanation, tell in a very simple, direct and vivid manner the impression which the leading events of the ten years, beginning with the stamp act and culminating in the battle of Lexington and the formal opening of the revolutionary struggle, made upon this country town, and clearly describe

Ames) of Dedham will give a very complete idea of the state of mind the people were in when the town meeting was called, the record of which is first given. Under date of Aug. 1765, he writes:

"Secretary Oliver appointed distributer of stamps for the Province—

The country incensed against the

The Pillar of LIBERTY Erected by the Sons of Liberty in this Vicinity Laus DEO Regi, et Immunitat autoribus quaxime Patrono Pitt, qui Rempub rufum evulfit. Faucibus Orci

the growth among the people themselves of that patriotic spirit which made certain the final issue. Dedham is not an isolated or even unusual example—for the records of many of the adjoining towns show resolutions similar in purpose and effect, engrossed upon their faded pages.

Some extracts from the diary of Dr. Nath'l Ames* (brother of Fisher stamp distributers and begin to hang them in effigy as well as Judges of Admiralty Courts—

Lieut. Gov. (Thos. Hutchinson) suspected of being in favor of the Stamp Act and has his house destroyed with some others viz: Hollowell & Wm. Story"

Oct. 21st, 1765, a town meeting was called and all the articles in the

Nath'l Ames, author of the famous Ames Almanac for 40 years, 1726-1765, and which on the death of his father, he continued to publish for several years.

^{*} Dr. Nath'l Ames was born in Dedham Oct. 9, 1741, graduated at Harvard College 1761, married Melitiah Shuttleworth, and died July 21, 1822. He was the son of Dr.

warrant, related to the public affairs of the Country. At this meeting, a committee of seven was chosen to

The diary mentioned was commenced while he was in college and continued until the year of his death, with only one year missing. Under the will of his niece Hannah Shuttleworth, who died in 1886, and who inherited his property, this diary, the existence of which was known to but few individuals, with many other valuable historic books and papers, including a complete bound set of the Elder Ames Almanac came by bequest to the Dedham Historical Society, together with a lot in the centre of the village, and ten thousand dollars with which to build a Society building (see page 173). Dr. Ames was as strong a Democrat in politics as his wellknown brother, Fisher Ames, was a Federalist. He always wrote the name "Fuderalist" or "the junto" in his diary when speaking of that party, and the diary is very valuable as showing that side of political questions of of the days succeeding the revolution, when the National character was being formed. His political feelings even found a place in his domestic economy, as the following recipes in his well-known hand-writing aptly illustrate.

3 gins to flower of the Better of the Better

prepare instructions to be given by the town to its representative. Dr. Nath'l Ames was one of this Committee. The representative was then Samuel Dexter Esq. This Committee presented a draft which the Town accepted—

To Samuel Dexter Esq.

SIR:-The Freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Dedham, greatly alarmed at the late burdens which the Parliament of Great Britain has laid upon the Colonies, particularly at the Tax imposed on us by the Stamp Act, so called, and being desirous by all regular and legal methods to do what lies in our power, to prevent the difficulties in which we shall be involved by the operation of the said Act, if the same should take place in this province, do now instruct you that while you appear at and represent this Town in the Great and General Court, you do, by no means, join in any public measures for countenancing and assisting in the execution of the said Act. It being the sense of the town, that our rights as British Subjects, which are founded in those that are common to all mankind, are by this Act greatly infringed upon, and that our invaluable Charter Rights are also thereby in a great measure violated, and not being sensible that this Province has by any disloyal or unworthy conduct, forfeited the privileges it enjoyed, we do therefore, in justice to ourselves and our posterity, direct you that you be not wanting in your endeavor in the General Assembly, to have these rights

> Had Veral Paninke Mix bouted layellow, bouted Indian weat parting a quart, with salt just in these pints with say in lard. Good county for the Justo, too good

in direct terms asserted and vindicated; which being left on record will be a testimony for us in future generations, that we did not tamely acquiesce in the loss of our liberty. To do this we think it our duty and we desire thus in the way of our duty, to trust in the good providence of God, which often has, and we hope will again appear for our relief, however dark the prospect may appear.

As we have an unquestionable right to give you the foregoing instructions, so we doubt not, you will consider it as your duty to pay all due attention thereto and strictly observe the same.

All other matters, we leave to your prudence, trusting you will always act as you judge most for the interest of the Province in general and of this Town in particular.

Great efforts were being at this time to obtain a repeal of the odious Stamp Act. In the Diary of Dr. Nath'l Ames are to be found the following interesting and very significant entries—

March 31, 1766. Mr. Pitt that best of men and true patriot engaged on behalf of America.

April 30. All impatience for confirmation of the Repeal of the Stamp Act—prepared for illuminations.

May 17. Glorious news!-total repeal of the Stamp Act.

May 19. Town Meeting—Dexter reports Public rejoicing at Boston-Repeal of Stamp Act.

May 21. Stone cutter at work on the Pillar of Liberty

July 2. Went to Boston, bespoke Pitts Head for Pillar of Liberty. July 22. Pillar of Liberty erected— Vast concourse of people.

July 24. Public thanksgiving for repeal of Stamp Act.

This Pillar of Liberty* was a large square block of hard granite surmounted by a turned pillar on which was a wooden bust of Wm. Pitt, Earl of Chatham, cut by a ship's carver. The pillar and bust have long since disappeared but the stone block still remains in the centre of the village, cherished as a monument consecrated to liberty and liberty's friends, having besides the inscription on its face the two accompanying ones, cut into the stone on the sides.

A Town meeting was held on Dec. 1, 1766, under a warrant which contained at the end—"N. B. The

The Pillar of LIBERTY
To the Honor of WILL. PITT Efq.

other Patriots who faved
AMERICA from impending Slave
ry, oconfirmed our most loyal
Affection to K^G George III by pro
curing a Repeal of the Stamp Act,
18th March, 1766.

matters to be acted upon being of great importance, it is desired that

^{*} Illustration on page 160 is from a pencil sketch made by the late Chas. Bullard about 1869 from a picture he had drawn as a boy (1802) when pillar and bust were standing.

Erected here July 22,1766, by Doct: Nath! Ames 2,4 Col. Eben! Battle, Maj Abijah Draper& other: Patriots friendly to the Rights of the Colonies at that day

Replaced by the Citizens July 4. 1828.

every person would attend who is qualified to vote."

The town, taking into consideration the Bill now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to making compensation to the sufferers and granting pardon to the offenders in the late times, expressed their minds thereupon in the following significant resolution:

7th. Voted that out of a dutiful regard to the mild recommendation of our most Gracious Sovereign, to testify at the same time our unfeigned gratitude to those worthy personages who generously and nobly patronized the British Colonies, by promoting the repeal of the Stamp Act and by other good offices, who, we understand, are desirous that compensation should be made, and as the sufferers have at the present session of the General Court, humbly petitioned, therefore: We direct our representative to give his vote and interest that their real losses be made up out of the Public Treasury, and that he use his endeavors that such previous or subsequent Resolves may be passed

relative thereto, as may tend to secure our invaluable rights and privileges.

In November, 1767, a meeting of the Town was called to take any prudent and legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this Province and to lessen the use of foreign "superfluities" and unanimously acted as follows:

Voted; that this Town will in all prudent methods encourage the use of such articles as may be produced or manufactured in the British American Colonies, particularly in this Province, and discourage the use of superfluities imported from abroad, and will not purchase any article of foreign produce or manufacture when the same article may be got of the produce or manufacture of said Colonies.

Voted; that this Town will strictly adhere to the new regulations respecting funerals. That no gloves shall be used on such occasions, but such as are manufactured in this Province—that no articles of mourning shall be purchased except a weed and black gloves for men and a black bonnet without gauze on it, a black handkerchief, ribband, fan, and gloves for women.

The last two votes having been brought into a proper form for subscription and a suitable introduction prefixed, the same was subscribed by the Inhabitants of the Town.

March 5, 1770, at a general meeting

of the Inhabitants of said Town, regularly assembled at the meeting-house in the first parish in said town, after the Clerk had read the laws, as usual, the town chose the Honorable Samuel Dexter, Esq., for their Moderator.

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After the election of the town officers for the year, on a motion made and seconded;

"The Town, taking into serious consideration ye great distress to which the people are reduced by means of ye oppressive Revenue Acts, and the troops sent to enforce obedience to the same, and being desirous of contributing all in their power to restore and preserve their liberties, according to the laudable example of many other towns in this Province, and being deeply sensible that the patriotic resolutions of the merchants and traders not to import goods and merchandise from Great Britain, ought to be seconded by such as have usually been purchasers of such goods and merchandise, came to the following votes:

Voted nem, con, that the town will add their interest to encourage ye produce and manufactures of all such articles as have formerly been imported from Great Britain.

Voted nem. con. that we will not directly or indirectly have any commerce or dealing with those few traders, lists of whom are posted up among us, who have had so little regard to the good of their country as to oppose and counteract the noble exertions of the body of merchants and traders of this Province and of the whole continent.

Voted nem. con. that as the duty on tea furnishes so large a sum towards ye maintenance and support of an almost innumerable multitude who live upon the fruits of the honest industry of the inhabitants, from the odious Commissioners of the Customs down to the dirty informers that are employed by them, therefore we will not make use of any foreign tea, nor allow the consumption of it in our respective families, till such time as the Duty being first taken off, this town shall by some future vote, grant an indulgence to such persons to drink tea, as have not virtue enough to leave off the use forever.

Voted that Messrs. Sam'l. Damon,



SAMUEL DEXTER.

Richard Woodward, George Talbot, Eliphalet Baker and Deacon Ralph Day be a committee to see that the foregoing votes be complied with."

June 4, 1773, a Town meeting was called at the request of the inhabitants in order to take into consideration the violations and infringements of the rights of the people in this Province particularly with respect to the independency of the judges of the Superior Court, and to act relative to such infringements as the town shall think proper. A letter was read from the town of Boston containing their votes and proceedings of the 20th of November last, after which this town came into the following votes:

Voted; that in the opinion of this town, the invaluable rights of the Colonies and of this Province in particular, have of late been greatly infringed upon by the Parent Country, and that the infringement and violations of these rights threaten this province and continent with certain and inevitable destruction.

Voted; that this town are, in a very particular manner, clearly of the opinion that the affixing stipends or salaries from the Crown to the office of the Judges of the Superior Court of Judicature making them entirely independent of the people whose lives and fortunes are so much in their power, is extremely alarming as being directly contrary to the spirit of our charter and pregnant with innumerable evils.

Voted; that our Representative in the general assembly be, and he hereby is instructed, to exert himself to the utmost that the public grievances which are now become so many, may be redrest and our rights and liberties fully restored to us, and that if he, upon examination shall find, that the salaries granted by the general assembly to the Judges of the Superior Court are insufficient, that he in said Court use his influence that an adequate sum be granted to them.

Resolved, That this town will at all times heartily join with any other town in this province, in such measures as might be proper, salutary, and effectual for the redress of our grievances and the establishing our Charter rights and privileges.

Voted; that the Town Clerk be directed to return an attested copy of the proceedings of this meeting to the Committee of Correspondence in the Town of Boston.

At a town meeting held Dec. 27, 1773, the Town, taking into consideration the present state of public affairs, particularly the late arrival of a large quantity of teas from the East India Company, and the subsequent destruction of the same, came to the following votes:

Voted; that this town do highly approve of the proceedings of the numerous assemblies of the people of Boston, and the neighboring towns convened at once and again of late at the Old South meeting-house in said Boston, to consider and determine

what was proper to be done, to prevent the landing of the teas shipped hither by the East India Company, and the consequent payment of the unconstitutional tax of three pence sterling a pound laid thereon by the British Parliament.

Voted; as the opinion of this town, that the respectable body of men there assembled, acted with the greatest prudence and caution, and did their utmost to preserve the property of the East India Company, and procure it to be safely returned to them again, and that whatever blame may be incurred by the destruction of the tea must and will be imputed solely to those who prevented their upright intention from taking place.

Voted; that this town hear with infinite pleasure of the patriotic determinations of the other Colonies; that the artful design of the ministry to carry more thoroughly into effect the Act of Parliament laying a Duty on teas imported into America by procuring another Act, in consequence of which, very large quantities have been sent by the East India Company, shall not operate to the establishment and increase of the American Revenue, but that the said teas shall upon their arrival be forthwith returned to the Port from whence they came.

Voted; that as so many political evils have been brought about by an unreasonable liking to the use of tea, and as we are convinced that it is baneful to the human constitution, we

will do all in our power to prevent the use of it in time to come; and if any shall refuse to comply, at least till such time as the Act imposing a Duty thereon shall be repealed, we shall consider them as unfriendly to the liberties of the people, as well as giving a flagrant proof of their own stupidity under a most grievous oppression.

Voted; as the opinion of this town, that the general concurrence in sentiment among the Colonies, as it is an evidence that the complaint of the infringement of their rights is justly founded, so it likewise affords a happy prospect that by their united efforts they may obtain redress of their grievances; and therefore this Town direct Mr. Abner Ellis, their representative, that for this desirable purpose he use his influence in the Honorable House at the next session of the General Court, that a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies on this continent be proposed, to be held as soon as conveniently may be.

It was moved and seconded that as this Town did, at their meeting held on the 4th day of January last, resolve that they would "at all times hereafter join with any Town in this Province in such measures as might be proper, salutary and effectual for the redress of our grievance and the establishing our charter rights and liberties" but did not, at that time, choose a committee to correspond with the several towns as occasion

might require, that such a committee be now chosen.

They then chose Dr. Wm. Avery, Mr. Richard Woodward, Nath'l Sumner Esq., Capt. Daniel Gay, Dr. Ralph Day, a committee for that purpose.

It was moved and seconded and thereupon voted; that as the Town have several times received very respectful letters from the town of Boston communicating such intelligence and proposing such measures as tended to promote the interest of the public, that the Committee of Correspondence prepare a letter to said town to be sent to their Committee of Correspondence and report the same to this town.

Then the committee withdrew and after some time, returned with the draft of a letter which was read and thereupon the following vote passed.

Voted; that the draft of a letter to the town of Boston, as read, be accepted and that the same be forwarded to the Committee of Correspondence of said town.

Voted; that the town Clerk be directed to transmit an attested copy of the votes and proceedings of this meeting to the Committee of Correspondence of the town of Boston.

The warrant for a town meeting to be held Sept. 1st, 1774, contained the following preamble:—

Whereas a number of gentlemen from and belonging to the several towns and districts in the County of Suffolk, assembled at Stoughton on Monday the 16th inst, have earnestly and unanimously recommended to the said towns and districts to appoint members to attend at a County Convention at the house of Mr. Richard Woodward in this town on Tuesday the 6th day of September next at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to deliberate and determine upon all such matters as the distressed circumstances of this province may require.

At the town meeting held under the above call, it was,

Voted; that this town look upon it to be their indispensable duty to do everything in their power, in a peaceable and orderly way to prevent the operation of the Acts of Parliament lately passed, so destructive of the rights, liberties and priviliges of this people, and that with this view, they will immediately proceed to the choice of persons to meet in a convention for this County on the sixth day of Sept. next.

The town then made choice of Dr: Wm. Avery, Mr. Richard Woodward, Nath'l Sumner Esq., Capt. Daniel Gay and Dr, Ralph Day to meet at the convention aforesaid. The meeting then adjourned, first to the 8th and then to the 15th of Sept. at which last adjournment the town voted as the desire of this Town that the constables, that may have money in their hands, withold the same from the Province and County Treasurers till the next town meeting.

The convention mentioned in the above record composed of delegates from every town and district of Suf-

folk County, (Dedham having five delegates present) was the one which passed the celebrated Suffolk Resolves. A committee was appointed at the meeting at Mr. Richard Woodward's house in Dedham, which reported the resolutions that were adopted by the convention at an adjourned meeting held a few days later in the neighboring town of Milton. The late Hon, Samuel F. Haven in his address delivered at Dedham 1836 at the celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the incorporation of the town, says in speaking of this convention at Mr. Woodward's house, "Those who now, or in after times, shall examine the journal of the earliest continental Congress, in search of the first recorded resolutions to try the issue with Great Britain if need be, at the point of the sword, will find the doings of this convention entered at length upon its pages, appearing as the medium through which the object of their assembling was first presented to their deliberations and serving as the basis of their subsequent proceedings. The house of Richard Woodward most of us remember. In it was born Fisher Ames. Was it also the birth place of the American Revolution?"

At a town meeting held Sept. 29, 1774, it was

Voted; that the collectors be directed to withhold the money from the Province and County Treasurers till the determination of the Provincial Congress be known.

Voted; unanimously, that the Town do approve the Resolves of the committee of several counties met at Boston, lately entered into, to prevent the regular troops being supplied with timber and every other article except provisions.

Voted; that a committee of eleven be appointed to see that the above resolve be strictly adhered to.

Voted; that the Town do highly approve of the late Resolve passed at the County Convention and of the upright and faithful conduct of their own members at said convention. The gentlemen chosen to represent the town at the Great and General Court were by vote empowered and

directed to appear and act in behalf of the Town at the Provincial Congress proposed to be held at Concord 2d Tuesday of Oct, next.

At a town meeting held Dec. 5, 1774, it was,

Voted; that this town do solemnly engage to conform to all the Resolves



THE WOODWARD HOUSE.

and Recommendations of the Continental Congress, and that we will do everything in our power to carry this Association Agreement in complete execution.

Voted: that we do further engage that we will not drink nor suffer any in our families to drink any kind of India tea, till we have a full redress of all the grievances ennumerated in the Association Agreement.

Voted; that [twelve persons being named] be a committee of Inspection, who are carefully to endeavor to find out whether any of the Inhabitants of the Town presume to violate the foregoing engagement, and if any should discover themselves to be so utterly void of love to their Country as in any article to act contrary thereto, the committee are to post up their names in some public place in each parish as enemies to the welfare of America. And that any seven of said Committee be a quorum who shall sign such notifications.

This meeting was adjourned to Dee. 19, 1774, when it was,

Voted; that the several constables be, and they hereby are directed to pay the whole that may be in their hands, and that they may hereafter collect, of monies belonging to the Province that were granted before the first day of June 1774, into the hands of Henry Gardner Esq., of Stow, and that a receipt produced from him shall be to each and every one of them as full and sufficient a discharge as if they had paid the

same to the late Treasurer Harrison Gray Esq., and that this town will forever secure and defend said constables from any damages arising from paying the money to Henry Gardner aforesaid.

A few more extracts from the Diary of Dr. Ames in 1774 show the strength of the popular feeling.

May 12. The Act of Parliament for blockading Boston and arrival of Gen. Gage as governor occasions terrible consternation in all America.

June—Boston very much distressed by the tyrannical Port Bill stopping up the harbour. Ships of war lying off and soldiers in the town— All America in consternation!

June 21. All business in Boston almost ceases.

June 22. Boston people trying for places in the Country.

July 14. A voluntary fast is observed this day, in this and some of the neighbouring provinces, at the recommendation of our House of Commons without the Governors assent, on which occasion Mr. J. Haven delivered an excellent political sermon in the forenoon, and a good pulpit discourse in the afternoon.

Sept. 2. Country alarmed even as far as the Mohawks who under Johnson set out to the relief of Boston from the tyranny of Gage.

Oct. 28. This afternoon was held a Lecture on the times, and Rev. Mr. Adams, Gordon, Abbot, Robins, and Haven agreed to hold such Lectures in their several parishes.

A town meeting was held Jan. 2, 1775, to elect a representative to the Provincial Congress to be held on or before the 1st day of Feb. next.

At this meeting the town made choice of a committee to prepare subscription papers and to obtain signers to subscribe towards relieving the distressed poor of the town of Boston now cruelly suffering in the common cause of America. Richard Woodward, Hon. Samuel Dexter, Nath'l Sumner Esq., and thirteen others appointed for that purpose.

At a meeting held March 6, 1775.

Voted; that the Selectmen of the Town, the Committee of Correspondence or the Committee of Inspection, one of each, or any three of either of said bodies be and hereby are empowered to give the certificate which any teamster conveying to Boston such articles as are prohibited to be supplied to the troops, is required to produce and deliver to one or more of the Committee of Correspondence at Boston.

Voted; to raise 60 minute men in the town including officers.

Voted; to pay such men for three half days in the week for one month, and one half day in the week for two more, that they shall expend to inform themselves in the art military reckoning 4 hours in each half day.

Voted; to grant and raise the sum of sixty pounds to be assessed upon polls and estates within the town for the purpose aforesaid, and four muster masters are chosen. This meeting then adjourned to March 14, 1775, when the Town again voted nearly in same language as at the meeting Dec. 19, 1774, that the Constables pay the province tax for 1774 to Henry Gardner Esq. lately appointed Treasurer for this Province, and that the Town will defend them from all damages for so paying.

Voted that the detached Company or minute men (so called) shall be held bound for nine months from the time of their enlistment and shall be in readiness to march upon any emer-

Voted that each minute man enlisted shall produce a certificate from his commanding officer, setting forth the time he shall have expended in informing himself in the art military in order to his receiving his money.

Voted that the Captains of the detached Company shall be entitled to four shillings per day, reckoning eight hours in the day for each day he shall spend in military exercises, and that each subaltern shall have three shillings per day.

Returning to the Ames Diary for 1775, we find the following entries:

April 19. Grand Battle from Concord to Charlestown: The regular forces sent by the British Government to Boston march out to Lexington, and fired on a company of men and killed six, then immediately marched off to Concord to seize our Province military

stores, destroyed some flour, two cannon, and then, upon being attacked by our people, began to retreat and continued fighting all the way to Charlestown. Thirty men lost on our side—many more on theirs. I went and dressed the wounded.

April 21. Elias Haven of Dedham killed—Israel Everet, Jr.. wounded in the battle.

April 23. Connecticut forces gone to Boston. Siege. King's ships and arms taken at New York by our Americans.

May 18. Ticonderoga, Crownpoint, Sheensboro, taken by New England men from Old England men.

May 21. Men of War Tenders went to plunder Grape Island—beat off by our men tho' they had cannon, which fired incessantly.

May 29. Town meeting.

May 29, 1775, the Town voted "to pay the men that were called down and were in the service on former alarms."

Voted; to pay the men that may be called in the service.

Voted; to raise 120 men in the several parishes in the same proportion that the minute men were raised, to stand ready to march on an alarm in defence of their country.

Voted; that said men be raised by the several officers of the militia in this town, and the men when raised be directed to meet at Dedham common on Thursday next, at one o'clock in the afternoon, in order to choose their officers. Voted; to grant each man four shillings per day while in the actual service of the province, unless provision for their pay shall be made by the Congress, and in case the province shall grant a sum short of four shillings per day, remainder be paid by the town.

The Hon. Samuel Dexter signified to the Town that he was willing to give the Town his trouble and expense in serving the Town at the Congress, and the Town voted thanks to him for his service.

Voted; that a man be chosen to take care of the cannon. The town made choice of Ebenezer Brackett to have the care of the cannon day time.

Voted; to choose a committee to procure men to watch at night.

Ames Diary continued (1775).

June 16. Began to intrench on Dorchester Hill and Chelsea.

June 17. Terrible battle forced our intrenchments at Charleston.

July 3. Gen. Washington arrived and Gen. Lee.

July 20. Continental fast.

Aug. 9. Rifle men 300 pass. 3 comp. Connecticut men.

Sept. 1. Continual roar of cannon night and day.

Nov. 7. Privateers of America plunder Tory vessels.

Nov. 10. King proclaims all America rebels.

Ames Diary continued (1776).

March 5. Our army takes possession of Dorchester Neck.



DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

March 9. Gen. Howe offers to quit Boston.

March 17. British Troops and Tories flee from Boston.

March 18. Boston opened yesterday.

" 30. Went to Boston which looks very gloomy. All shops shut up.

April 1. Soldiers return home, and continental troops march every day to the southward.

April 5. Gen. Washington lodged in town (Dedham).

In the warrant for the meeting May, 1776, one article read as fol-

"6. To know the minds of the Town with respect to coming into a state of Independency."

It is clear from the records, that this Town did not rush blindly into war for Independence, for when this Article was reached, it was voted to refer the subject to the next meeting, which in those days was not equivalent to indefinite postponement, for meetings were held very frequently. This next meeting was, in fact, held May 27, 1776, when it was put to vote to see if it be the mind of the Town, that if the Honorable Congress, should for the safety of the Colonies, declare their Independence of the Kingdom of Great Britain, they, the said Inhabitants, will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in the measure; it passed unanimously in the affirmative.

What could more fittingly close these records of a patriotic town than the following entries from Ames Diary. It is evident that it had taken ten days for the great news given forth by the bell in Independence Hall on the 4th of July, to travel to Dedham.

June 9. The Yankee Hero taken by the enemy.

June 12. All Dedham men gone to intrench on the east.

June 14. Artillery and militia clear Boston Harbor of enemy.

July 14. Independency declared by Congress.

DON GLEASON HILL.

NOTE-Samuel Dexter whose picture, from a portrait of 1792, is given, by courtesy of the "Dedham Historical Register," on page 165 and who is frequently mentioned in the Dedham Records, was the eldest son of Rev. Samuel Dexter, long a minister in that town. He was born in 1726, became a merchant in Boston and having acquired a considerable fortune returned to his native village in 1763 where he lived until 1776. For several successive years a member of the Governors Council, and elected to other offices of trust and responsibility, he was a leader in developing patriotic sentiment and organizing the people for the approaching crisis. His time, money and talents were freely given to the patriot cause without thought of honor or reward. He represented the town in the first Provincial Congress and was placed on the committee to provide for the public defense and subsequently for the support of the army assembled after the battle of Lexington for the siege of Boston, Of the measures of the patriots to secure and maintain their rights against British tyranny and aggression Sam'l Dexter was a sagacious and unfaltering supporter.

And yet, strange to say, soon after the beginning of hostilites, in 1776, he suddenly resigned his position on the committee for the support of the army, withdrew from all connection with public affairs and would never afterwards accept office. How is this singular conduct to be accounted for? It is well known he differed from the policy of his associates on the committee. He was opposed to the concentration of the army around Boston. He maintained it needed drill and discipline and the arms and ammunition essential to success-that it should be moved inland and prepared there for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Differing so radically from his associates he withdrew from the committee that they might not be embarassed by his presence and opposition. His action gave rise to the suspicion and the charge that he was lukewarm in the patriot cause if not a secret enemy. Nothing could be more unfounded and unjust.

No doubt the charge stung him to the quick. Conscious of the purity of his motives, unable to explain his position without causing dissension among the patriots and so endangering the cause that was dearer than his own reputation, he offered no vindication of his course, retired to private life and remained under a cloud during the war. He purchased an estate at Woodstock Hill, Connecticut, where he passed the remaining years of his life. His distinguished son, also Samuel Dexter, was Secretary of War and afterward Secretary of the Treasury under President John Adams.



MOTLEY'S VIEW OF THE CIVIL WAR.*

THE brilliant historian who made the sixteenth century live again upon his pages, had a keen insight into the events of the nineteenth. This we might prove in a very interesting manner by citations from these letters which refer to Louis Napoleon and the formation of the German Empire. No one since Sedan can form a better estimate of the essential littleness of Napoleon III., than Motley entertained of it while he was still at the zenith of his apparent glory. Nor could any one to-day discourse more convincingly about the inevitable and indispensable consolidation of the German Empire into the compact and effective state it has since become, than Motley did when the ideal was only ripening in the minds of its chief promoters. But such a topic would be entirely inadmissible in these pages. We shall confine ourselves therefore to proving our opening proposition by means of events upon American soil.

While Motley was in Europe industriously investigating the recondite sources of history, in order to present to the world a vivid picture of the struggles of the Dutch Republic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, his own beloved country was entering upon a struggle which was to test and settle forever the virtue of her foundation-principles. The Republic of the Netherlands was a confederacy, hung together but loosely, with States' Rights ever too prominently asserted, and ever menacing the sovereignty and integrity of the Union itself. It was only the "forge and the heat" in which "the anchors of her hope were shaped," that held the seven provinces together. It was well that the war lasted nearly a century, or the republic would never have endured as long as it did. But imperfect as was this union it was a magnificent experiment in free government, that told upon all the ages, and which found its logical issue in such a government as that of the United States of America. The founders of our state had the Dutch Republic before them with its glories and its mistakes. Its glorious achievements filled them with hope; its defects in government taught them wisdom. They avoided the loose confederacy

^{* &}quot;Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley," edited by George William Curtis, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1889, 2 vols.

with the menace of its constantly interfering States' Rights; they effected a Federation with a central national sovereignty of respectable strength.

But the course of our history throughout the nineteenth century developed the strange anomaly that what was best and strongest and wisest about our Republic, was just that which a formidable portion of the land wished to see removed. The menace of States' Rights it was eagerly sought to reinstate; the central government was to be wiped out, and the Federation was to turn back upon its course, back upon the lessons of history, back upon the plainest wisdom, and resolve itself once more into a confederacy. And all for what? That a certain institution cherished by a few States, might not be threatend by the wisdom or conscience of the nation of United States. When those who maintained that unhappy institution perceived the approach of the central government toward any act of national authority, they felt an instinctive alarm that this authority might one day touch that cherished slavery. They were keen-scented and keen-sighted. Even so innocent and remote a project as internal improvements in the way of canals, or in the way of settling government lands, was resented and resisted with a virulence that would have been inexplicable or ridiculous, had there not been nerves of feeling running beneath the surface which made some men wince when these so

very different matters were touched.

Motley was in Europe, busy on the "United Netherlands," when the news of the election of Lincoln came He wrote to his mother: "I rejoice in the triumph at last of freedom over slavery more than I can express. Thank God it can never be said, after the great verdict just pronounced that the common law of my country is slavery, and that the American flag carries slavery with it wherever it goes." Of course so close a student of the Dutch confederacy of yore, that finally fell to pieces from its self-determined incoherence-looked keenly to the real point and issue of the battle that was now to come. "The question is distinctly proposed to us," he writes, "shall slavery die or the great Republic? It is most astounding to me that there can be two opinions in the Free States as to the answer. If we do fall, we deserve our fate. At the beginning of the contest, constitutional scruples might be respectable. But now we are fighting to subjugate the South, that is slavery. We are fighting for the Union. Who wishes to destroy the Union? The slaveholders. Nobody else."

When war had been fairly launched Motley showed the true feelings of an American citizen. He had not been spoiled by his long residence abroad, or his delight in English society. He retained singularly bright and pure his republican principles. The first effect upon him of events

on this side the Atlantic was a distaste or disability for the concentration of his mind upon merely literary His daughter (Lady Wilstudies. liam Vernon Harcourt) writes: "In the first dark years the painful interest of the great national drama was so all absorbing that literary work was entirely put aside, and with his countrymen at home he lived only in the varying fortunes of the day.' Indeed he could not remain abroad. He hastened across the Atlantic and made every arrangement to remove his family back to America and dwell in the midst of the alarms of the war, if possibly he might render some service. But that service came in a peculiar way; before his family could follow him he had received President Lincoln's appointment as minister to Austria. His fame as an ardent supporter of Lincoln's cause had preceded him; for early in the outbreak he had addressed a letter to the London Times (thundering and blundering away as usual, and against the North) "explaining clearly and comprehensively," says Mr. Curtis, "the nature of the Union and the actual causes of the struggle. The letter was of the greatest service. It was republished in the United States, and universally read and approved." So his home was again to be abroad, in the distant and rather lonesome Vienna. Here after a while he betook himself once more to his literary task, but it was with a divided heart. Two volumes of his second work ("The United Netherlands") had now been published. He writes "I try to work at my History, and have really succeeded in getting my teeth into the subject; but the great events of our own day in our country are so much more absorbing that I find it difficult to make much progress." But as the strain of the first excitement was relieved, and especially when success to the Northern arms seemed assured, he naturally recovered sufficient equaminity and mental poise to resume his beloved labors. In 1863 he tells his mother: "As I have now made up my mind that our war is to be protracted indefinitely I am trying to withdraw my attention from it, and to plunge into the 16th and 17th centuries again. While I am occupying myself with the events of a civil war which lasted eighty years and engaged and exhausted the energies of all the leading powers of Europe, perhaps I may grow less impatient with military operations extended over a much larger and less populated area, and which have not yet continued for two years." late as 1864 he writes again: "I am sorry to say that I no longer work with the same interest and passion for my work as before. The sixteenth century palls before the nineteenth." To add one more point exhibiting the personal element in Motley's standpoint with regard to the Civil War, there is to be considered a somewhat painful difference of opinion

between himself and his father on the subject. It begins to appear at the very outset: "I am very sorry that I cannot exchange congratulations with the governor on the subject of the Presidential election," he writes playfully to his mother when Lincoln's election was assured. But later the known divergence of sentiments led to a cessation of correspondence between father and son, yet with continued love and esteem for each other. Hence he writes to his mother upon receiving the news of his father's death: "You may believe that it was a great pain that I could never exchange written or spoken words with him on the great subject of the age and of the world, and I therefore formed the resolution of always addressing my letters to you, in order that I might not seem to say to him what might cause controversy between us. I supposed that he would probably read or not, as he chose, what I wrote to you, and that he could not be annoved by my speaking without restraint on such occasions. concealing my opinions, that neither he nor you would have wished me to do. . . . I could easily understand, however, that his age, and the different point of view from which he regarded political subjects, made it not v unnatural that he should hold with tenacity to opinions which he had formed with deliberation and acted upon intelligently during a long lifetime."

Throughout the whole period of

the war Motley kept before his mind with unabated clearness the great and vital subject of emancipation, "Are we to spend 1,200 millions," he asks, "and raise 600,000 soldiers in order to protect slavery? . . . The people have really decreed emancipation and is only puzzling how to carry it into effect. . . . With slavery in its primitive vigor I should think the restored Union neither possible nor desirable." At the same time he would deprecate any rash and hasty measures on this head. He commends Lincoln's cautious policy: "I think Mr. Lincoln embodies singularly well the healthy American mind. He revolts at extreme measures, and moves in a steady way to the necessary end. He reads the signs of the times and will never go faster than the people at his back. So his slowness seems sometimes like hesitation; but I have not a doubt that when the people wills it, he will declare that will, and with the disappearance of the only dissolvent the dissolution of the Union will be made impossible." He looked upon emancipation as something that would have important effects both at home and abroad. home it would unify all parties and simplify the issue joined. "One would think it impossible for those engaged in a common resistance to this mutiny not to sink, for the period of the war at least, every petty feeling of dislike to each other. I am sure that I have none but the kindest feelings now to every man of whatever party

in the free States - Hunker, Democrat, Belleverettian, Republican, or Abolitionist - provided they are willing to stand shoulder to shoulder to save the country from extinction." It appears that Motley was not an abolitionist before the war, but the war itself now pointed him to abolition as the only issue: "The very reason which always prevented me from being an abolitionist before the war, in spite of my anti-slavery sentiments and opinions, now forces me to be an emancipationist. I did not wish to see the government destroyed, which was the avowed purpose of the abolitionists. When this became the avowed purpose of the slaveholders, when they made war upon us, the whole case was turned upside down.... There is no way of contending now with the enemy at our gates, but by emancipation."

So again in emancipation lay the only hope to prevent interference and to insure sympathy on the part of the governments of Europe. "Our great danger comes from foreign interference. What will prevent that? Our utterly defeating the confederates in some great and conclusive battle, or our possession of the cotton ports and opening them to European trade, or a most unequivocal policy of slave emancipation. . . . The last measure is to my mind the most important." When, therefore, Lincoln had issued his proclamation, the enemies of the North abroad were nonplussed. Agents of the slave States had industriously sought to spread the impression that the North was as much in favor of slavery as the South. The matter of Union or no Union, confederacy or federation, could hardly be expected to interest foreigners, or enlist their sympathies one way or the other. But in slavery or no slavery lay a principle of universal interest, which was certain to enlist the sympathy of the people of England and France on the side of anti-slavery. Thus Motley was enabled to write in a strain of great relief: "The President's proclamation was just in time. Had it been delayed it is possible England would have accepted the invitation of France, and that invitation was in reality to organize the slaveholders' confederacy, and to make with it an alliance offensive and defensive... Nothing has saved us from this disaster thus far except the anti-slavery feeling in England, which throughout the country, although not so much in high places, is the predominant popular instinct in England which no statesman dares confront."

It is both interesting and instructive, now that we know the whole course and result of the great struggle, to take a look at the war from the standpoint of one who was keenly watching it and intelligently studying it with the training of a thorough historian. At first it seemed to him and other thoughtful observers as if it would soon be over. It was supposed that the war could be finished in a

year, and this "by accumulating so much force and by making such imposing demonstrations everywhere, as to convince the rebels that their schemes - already proved to have been false in all their calculations founded on co-operation in the Free States - have become ridiculous." This was before the Battle of Bull Run, and it was, perhaps, more a citation of the opinion of others, than his own conviction. Yet the drift of his own thought was quite in line with this conviction of a speedy end. But later there is a radical change in his expectations; his natural despondency comes to the foreground, and now he can see no end at all. In November, 1862, he writes to one of his daughters. "It is very probable that I shall not live to see the end of this great tragedy, which seems hardly to have passed its first act. . . . This war is a purifying process, but it seems that a whole generation of youths has to be sacrificed before we can even see the end." And again: "Certainly we live in tragic days! You may live to see tranquil and happy ones; but it is not probable that we of this generation will do so. The great slave revolution will, I think, take almost the span of one generation to accomplish itself thor- * oughly. This partial pro-slavery reaction in the North has, I fear, protracted the contest" And so he turned for consolation and distraction from this painful contemplation to his literary work, writing to his

mother, in March, 1863, already quoted: "As I have now made up my mind that our war is to be protracted indefinitely, I am trying to withdraw my attention from it and to plunge into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries again."

Yet however despondent as to the continuance of the conflict, Motley never for a moment lost faith in the issue of it. At the beginning when the days were dark he wrote to his mother: "I do wish we could receive one good piece of news. But I am not disheartened. I feel perfect confidence that the great result cannot but be good and noble." A visitor of rather Southern leanings after calling upon him in Vienna, wrote to his friend that he had found Motley "more unreasonable than ever, vowing that the restoration of the Union in its entirety was as sure as the sun in heaven." A year later, he writes to Dr. Holmes: "The harvest to be reaped by the country will be almost priceless. Of this I entertain no doubt whatever. God knows I was never an optimist, but in the great result of this tremendous struggle I can foresee nothing but good." And still another year later, when affairs had grown decidedly brighter for the North, in December, 1863, he writes in a brief note to his mother: "I am determined to say nothing of political matters save to repeat my conviction, firm as the everlasting hills, that the only possible issue of the war is the reconstruction of the Union and

the entire abolition of slavery, and such a glorious consummation is as sure as that the sun will rise to-morrow." Only for a brief period did this supreme faith desert him. It was after the capture of Mason and Slidell, when it seemed inevitable that war with England must follow. Then he wrote in almost an agony of despair to his mother: "I never expect another happy hour, and am almost brokenhearted. My whole soul was in the cause of the United States government against this pro-slavery mutiny, and I never doubted our ultimate triumph; but if the South has now secured the alliance of England, a restoration of the Union becomes hopeless."

Before leaving the general subject of the war we must be pardoned for giving one rather lengthy extract from a letter to his mother. It presents so clear, true, and philosophic a conception of the struggle then tearing our land asunder, but which in its issue has only cemented the Union the more firmly;—and that wonderful fact is here so calmly and intelligently traced to its necessary, historic grounds, long before the result justified Motley's reasonings,—that there will be no apology needed for the long citation:—

VIENNA, June 9th, 1862.

My dearest Mother:

I am pretty busy now with my history, and work on regularly enough, but of course I am disturbed by perpetual thoughts about our own country. I am convinced, however, that it is a mistake in us all to have been ex-

pecting a premature result. It is not a war; it is not exactly a revolution; it is the sanguinary development of great political and social problems, which it was the will of the Great Ruler of the universe should be reserved as the work of the generation now on the stage, and their immediate successors. The more I reflect upon this civil war, and try to regard it as a series of historical phenomena, disengaging myself for the moment from all personal feelings or interests, the more I am convinced that the conflict is the result of antagonisms, the violent collision of which could no longer be deferred, and that its duration must necessarily be longer than most of us anticipated. In truth, it is almost always idle to measure a sequence of great historical events by the mere lapse of time which does very well to mark the ordinary succession of commonplace affairs. The worst of it is, so far as we are all individually concerned, that men are short-lived, while man is immortal even on the earth, for aught that we know to the contrary. It will take half a century, perhaps, before the necessary conclusion to the great strife in which we are all individually concerned has been reached, and there are few of us now living destined to see the vast result. But it is of little consequence, I suppose, to the Supreme Disposer whether Brown, Jones and Robinson, understand now or are likely to live long enough to learn what He means by the general scheme according to which he governs the universe in which we play for a time our little parts. If we do our best to find out, try to conform ourselves to the inevitable, and walk as straight as we can by such light as we honestly can get for ourselves, even though it be but a tallow candle, we shall escape tumbling over our noses more than half a dozen times daily.

I look at the mass of the United States, and it seems impossible for me to imagine for physical and geographical and ethnographical reasons, that its territory can be permanently cut up into two or more inde-

pendent governments. A thousand years ago this happened to Europe, and the result was the parcelling out of two or three hundred millions of human creatures into fifty or five hundred (it matters not how many) different nations, who thus came to have different languages, religions, manners, customs, and histories. As I am not writing a historical lecture, and as I am a wonderful son who can always astonish his mother with his wisdom, it will be sufficient for my present audience to say that not one of the causes which ten centuries ago, disintegrated and decomposed the European world, with a territory about the size of the United States. and with essentially the same population, is present at this moment in America. The tendency of the age everywhere, and the strongest instinct of the American people, is to consolidation, unification. It is the tendency of all the great scientific discoveries and improvements which make the age of utilitarianism, at which we have arrived. I do not believe the American people (of course I mean a large majority) will ever make such asses of themselves as to go to work in the middle of the nineteenth century and establish a Chinese wall of custom-houses and forts across the widest part of the American continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and keep an army of 300,000 men perpetually on foot with a navy of corresponding proportion, in order to watch the nation on the south side of the said Chinese wall and fight it every half dozen years or so together with its European allies. The present war, sanguinary and expensive as it is, even if it lasts ten years longer, is cheaper both in blood and in money than the adoption of such a system, and I am so much of a democrat (far more now than I ever was in my life) as to feel confident that the great mass of the people will instinctively perceive that truth, and act in accordance with it. Therefore I have no fear that it will ever acknowledge a rival sovereignty to its own. The Union, I do not believe, can be severed.

Therefore, I believe the war must go on until this great popular force has beaten down and utterly annihilated the other force which has arranged itself in plump opposition to it. The world moves by forces.

By the aid of Motley's letters we are enabled also to get a few intimate and interesting glimpses into conditions, popular opinions, and personal feelings, at the beginning and during the conduct of the war. It is amusing, and yet somewhat pathetic too, to read now the extravagant ideas of General Scott's invincible efficiency and genius which then prevailed from President Lincoln down to the very ragamuffins upon the streets. Reporting a conversation which took place when Motley first met the President, he writes: "When we were talking-all three-about the military plans in progress, he observed, not meaning anything like an epigram, 'Scott will not let us outsiders know anything of his plans." A little before this he had written to his wife, who was still in England: "I saw a small crowd waiting on the pavement and Lee, who was with us [not General Lee, but some friend of Motley's family | told me that they were to see General Scott come out of his office. It reminded me of the group I so often saw in Piccadilly waiting to see Lord Palmerston come out." The next citation shows both Motley's own estimate of Old Pomposity and the General's idea as to the celerity with which everything could be accomplished. "To the

question whether the task is beyond our strength, I can only repeat that General Scott-than whom a better strategist and a more lofty-minded and honorable man does not existbelieves that he can do it in a year." Enumerating the generals on our side, Motley again observes: "to say nothing of Old Scott, whose very name is worth 50,000 men." Even when murmurs of doubt about the great and mysterious designs began to arise, Motley keeps bright his faith in the generalissimo: "Don't be affected," he writes on July 14, 1861, just before Bull Run, "by any sneers or insinuations of slowness against Scott; I believe him to be a magnificent soldier, thoroughly equal to his work, and I trust that the country and the world will one day acknowledge that he has played a noble and winning game with consummate skill." Unfortunately that day has never come. The hero of Lundy's Lane, past his seventy-fifth year, could hardly be expected to do the wonders that people were looking for. And a sudden and significant silence about the "great Scott," falls upon Motley's letters.

At last there went forth a letter from Motley to his wife, which tells an eloquent story from its very composition. It is dated "Woodland Hill," near Boston, July 21, 1861. It begins very calmly, tells of his receiving the degree of LL. D. from Harvard, and of two other notable people, who obtained it at the same time,

Governor Andrew and General Scott. With reference to the latter, it is really pathetic to catch one more note, even in this letter, of the popularity of the man. "When the name of Winfield Scott was announced, there arose a tempest of cheers such as I am sure was never heard before at any academic celebration in Cambridge. I thought the church would have split in pieces like a bombshell, so irrepressible was the explosion of enthusiasm. Here were grave professors and clergymen, judges, young under-graduates and octogenarians, all hallooing like lunatics." But this letter, like the traditional epistle from female hands, had a more important postscript. This was dated July 23. It was headed, "Read this sheet first." We have italicized these words, but their position and their meaning are emphatic enough on the printed page of the "Correspondence," without that additional device of the printer's art. "I have had half a dozen minds about sending you the foregoing pages," he continues, "Since they were written, the terrible defeat of Sunday evening has occurred." This was the battle or the rout of Bull Run. Motley's language seems almost extravagent, as he reveals the effect upon his mind of this sudden disaster. Yet doubtless he reflects not only his own feelings, but those also of all ardent supporters of the Northern cause, or of the Union. pity you and my children inexpressibly to be alone there," i. e. in Eng-

land. "I sympathize most deeply with your position," he says again. "You have many kind friends-none can be kinder; but the situation admits of no consolation." "Don't show this letter to any one. I hope you are not in London." It would almost seem as if personal disgrace, or the death of a member of the household had fallen upon the writer. Then as to the situation around him he writes: "We are for the moment overwhelmed with gloom." measure of our dishonor, which I thought last night so great as to make me hang my head forever, I can not now thoroughly estimate." Yet even while bowed down under the crushing effects of the first news of the defeat, he takes a hopeful view of the conduct of the men engaged in the battle. "There is no doubt that our troops behaved admirably during the whole of Sunday; that they charged and carried battery after battery of rifled cannon; that the colonels of regiments led on their men on foot, rifle in hand, loading and firing like privates; that our men repeatedly crossed bayonets with the enemy, and drove them off the field. This went on for nine hours. In the evening it appears that Johnston effected his junction with Beauregard, and then a panic, commenced by teamsters, together with reporters, members of Congress, and outsiders generally, who had no business on the field at all, was communicated to the troops, who fled in disorder." Hence, about

five days later, he encourages his wife as follows: "Don't be too much cast down about Bull Run, In a military point of view it is of no very great significance. There was a panic, it is true, and we feel ashamed, awfully mortified; but our men had fought four or five hours without flinching, against concealed batteries, at the cannon's mouth, under a blazing July Virginia sun, taking battery after battery, till they were exhausted with thirst, and their tongues were hanging out of their mouths. It was physically impossible for these advanced troops to fight longer, and the reserves were never brought up. So far I only say what is undisputed. The blame for the transaction can not be fairly assigned till we get official accounts."

Two years later there were happier tidings, and Motley wrote in a happier strain. "Isn't it one of the most striking and picturesque things imaginable that Lee's great invading army, after being thoroughly thrashed on the 2d and 3d of July, should have moved off in rapid retreat on the 4th of July, and that on the same famous anniversary, Vicksburg, the great fortress and stronghold of the Mississippi, should have surrendered to the United States troops?" Thus to his wife; and a few days later to Dr. Holmes: "There is no need of my descanting longer on this magnificent theme. Some things in this world may be better left unsaid. You and I at least know how we both feel about Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Port Hudson, and I shall at least not try to add to the eloquence of these three words, which are destined to so eternal an echo. I wonder whether you or I half a dozen years ago were sufficiently up in geography to find all the three places on the map."

It is comparatively easy to stand off, as it were, and look at a battle as a picture, or to read with calm calculation how many were lost, killed, wounded, on either side. In that impersonal aggregate we forget there are individuals, and our human feelings are in abeyance. But when the personal element has to intervene, and we cannot forget the individuals, then a war or a battle becomes a very different thing. Then there are heartstrings reaching out to every field of carnage, to be rudely severed at every discharge of artillery, or amid the swordclash of the murderous melee. Very just is Motley's conception of this phase of the great conflict. "Slavery must go down and free labor prevail at last, but those of us whose blood is flowing or whose hearts are aching (like Mrs. W. D---'s, for instance, mother of heroes), may find it small consolation that the United States of 1900 will be a greater and happier power than ever existed in the world, thanks to the sacrifices of this generation." So Dr. Holmes writes to Motley about his son: "I meant to have told you that my boy was made a captain the other day. How our little unit out

of the six or seven hundred thousand grows in dimensions as we talk or write about it!" The fate of this young soldier (since Motley had no son of his own), constituted one of the personal links with every battlefield for him and his family. "There are very many youths in that army of freedom whose career we watch with intense interest; but Wendell Holmes is ever in our thoughts, side by side with those of our own name and blood." In one of the earliest battles young Holmes was wounded and Motley's second daughter, then in America, informed her parents of the fact. The letter produced a rather curious effect, illustrating the point in hand, but with a pleasant sequel, for though apparently shot through the lungs, as Miss Motley (now Mrs. Sheridan, of England) wrote, the ball took a peculiar course, and made but a slight wound. Motley thus gave an account of the reception of the letter in writing to Dr. Holmes: "I seized it with avidity and began to read it aloud, and before I had finished the first page it dropped from my hand, and we all three burst into floods of tears. Mary wrote that Wendell Holmes was shot through the lungs and not likely to recover. After the paroxysm was over, I picked up the letter and read a rather important concluding phrase of Mary's statement, viz.: 'But this, thank God, has proved to be a mistake."

One hero or demigod having departed (or having been deposed) it

was in order to look for his successor. We have looked with Motley's eyes upon the imposing figure of Scott. Who would or could succeed him? "The coming man, whoever he may be, must have military genius united with intense faith in something. In the old civil wars of Holland, France and England, the men who did the work were the men who either believed intensely in the Pope and the Inquisition, or who intensely hated these institutions. . . . And in our war ... the coming man is some tremendous negro seller with vast military capacity, or some John Brown with ditto." This personage began to emerge from the clouds of war after a while. In December, 1863, he seems to be rising above the horizon. Motley writes to his mother: "We are very well satisfied with recent American news. In a military point of view, thank Heaven! the 'coming man,' for whom we have so long been waiting, seems really to have come. So far as I can understand the subject, Ulysses Grant is at least equal to any general now living in any part of the world, and by far the first that our war has produced on either side. ... A correspondent of a widely circulated German newspaper (the Augsburg Gazette) very far from friendly to America, writing from the seat of war in Tennessee, speaks of the battle of Chattanooga as an action, which, both for scientific combination and bravery in execution, is equal to any battle of modern times from the

days of Frederick the Great downwards." But this bright star verged towards setting again, and came quite near it, in Motley's estimation. "I have great faith in Grant; I think he is the man we have been waiting for these three years, but I don't feel absolutely certain." And a week or two later: "We have a telegram this morning, date August 6th, telling us that Grant has been repulsed at Petersburg; ... few attacks made in front upon entrenchments by either belligerent have succeeded; . . . if anything could stagger my profound faith in Grant, it would be many repetitions of such assaults. If he can't make Lee attack him-which I always thought would be his game-I shall be disappointed."

The glorious and strongly wished for end of the struggle came at last and then amid all the gladness and relief of a nation, shone forth the boundless admiration and gratitude towards the man who had been the main instrument to set in motion all the thousands of lesser instruments, and converge them under God to the accomplishment of the grand result. Then with all Motley's ardent nature his intense happiness over the victory reflected itself in his letters, and he extolled Grant to the skies.

I am sure that no man ever looked for so overwhelming and so dramatic a catastrophe as the storming of the Petersburg lines, the capture of Richmond, and the surrender of all the armies of the "Confederacy" in so brief a period of time. No man, I mean, except Ulysses Grant. I am no great admirer

of military heroes, but we needed one at this period, and we can never be too thankful that exactly such an one was vouchsafed to us,—one so vast and fertile in conception, so patient in waiting, so rapid in striking,—had come, and withal so destitute of personal ambition, so modest, so averse to public notoriety. The man on whom the gaze of both hemispheres has been steadily concentrated for two years, seems ever shrinking from observation. All his admiration, warmly expressed, is for Sherman and Sheridan. So long as we can produce such a man as Grant, our Republic is safe.

How very feeble seems the talk much indulged in on this side of the Atlantic about military dictatorship and all the rest of it, in America, to those who know something of that part of the world and its inhabitants. There is something very sublime to my imagination in the fact that Grant has never yet set his foot in Richmond, and perhaps never will.

I said that we were not in a state of exultation at our immense victory. On the contrary, I believe that the all-prevailing genuine sentiment of the American people was that of humble. grateful thanksgiving to God that the foul sedition was suppressed and the national life preserved. The spectacle of twenty thousand men in the busiest haunts of trade, in one of the most thronged cities of the world spontaneously uncovering their heads and singing a Psalm of thanksgiving, — "O Lord [sic] from whom all blessings flow", — when the news of victory reached them, was not an ignoble scene.

LEONARD IRVING.



GLIMPSES OF OLD RHODE ISLAND.

WESTERLY AND WATCH HILL.



The founding of Rhode Island in 1636, after the banishment from Massachusetts Bay Colony of Roger Williams and his adherents for heresy and schism from the Puritan teachings, is a familiar story. Sick at heart from the uncharitableness of his civilized Christian brethren, he appears to have wandered into the wilderness resolved to devote his remaining years to teaching the red men. But his friends and disciples, accepting for themselves his persecution, followed hard after him and in

the new country forced upon him the responsibility of leadership.

On August 20, 1636, was drawn up the agreement of those "desirous to inhabit in the towne of Providence," although in a record dated the 16th of June previous, we find the term "Towne meeting" applied to a gathering of the handful of Christian outlaws who had been cut off by the Puritans.

The settlement of Portsmouth dates from 1638, and Newport from 1639. These three towns, Providence, Portsmouth and Newport, together with War-

wick, which was founded a little later, constituted for many years the "Collony of Providence Plantations." The first four settlements were all in the eastern section of the province, but the fifth town of Rhode Island was established on the frontier, in the "Narragansett country," in the southwest corner of the territory over which the Providence Plantations claimed jurisdiction. This settlement early received the appellation which its extreme situation naturally suggested—Wes-

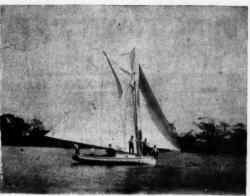
terly. The act of the "Gennerall Assembly of the Collony of Providence Plantations," incorporating this frontier settlement, (in which the place is baptized with a prosaic Christian name to supersede the Indian designation) was passed "this 14th day of May," 1669. From this verbose and circuitous enactment we quote briefly:*

"This court taking notice of the returne of the committee . . . in reference to the petition and desire of the people inhabiting at Musquamacott and Pawcatucke in the King's Provinces to be made a towne-ship Be it therefore enacted by this Assembly and the authority thereof . . the freemen and inhabitants in the said place called Musquamacott, &c., shall be

knowne and called by the name of Westerly, and deemed the fifth towne of this Collony."

By this document and other ancient authorities the fact is established that the settlement of Musquamacott, which constituted the town of Westerly, was situated on the east bank of the Pawtucke ("alias Narragansett or Norrogawsitt") river. This narrow but picturesque stream, under its alias of Narragansett, had been

designated in charters from the King as the boundary between the Connecticut and Providence Plantations. Thus the extension of Westerly which grew up just across the ford, on the opposite side of the river, took the name of Pawcatuck, and acknowledged allegiance to another government. The visitor who to-day steps



SCENE ON THE PAWCATUCK.

across the little bridge from Westerly, Rhode Island, to Pawcatuck, Connecticut, can scarcely bring himself to believe that he has passed from one commonwealth into another, and in the same minute has visited two distinct corporations under separate State control. The present Pawcatuck, however, had no existence at the time of the first settlement of Musquamacott or Westerly; but six miles to the southwest was the thriving Connecticut settlement of Stonington, which proved at first

^{*} R. I. Col. Records, Vol. II., pp. 250-1.

a rather rude and disagreeable neighbor.

Border towns are the principal sufferers from boundary disputes, and the pioneers of Westerly, with Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island all claiming the territory on which they had planted their town, found themselves in hot water much of the time. The discussion Pequots, Narragansetts, Manisses (inhabitants of Manisses, or Block Island), and the Montauks of Long Island.

At the time of the first settlement of New England by the whites the Niantics had been well-nigh exterminated. They had occupied the southern coast of Connecticut and Rhode Island, but had given way before the

fierce Pequots who moved down upon them from New York. The divided remnant of the Niantics occupied two tracts of land, one between New London and the Connecticut River, and the other just east of the Pawcatuck River—Musquamacott. The Niantics sought to retain these small holdings by means of an alliance with the powerful Narragansetts who ruled over nearly all Rhode Island.

At the opening of the year 1632 the Pequots had wedged themselves in between the eastern and western remnants of the Niantics, becoming practically the masters of all Connecticut east of the Con-

nectiut River to the Pawcatuck.* But in April of that year the Pequots crossed the Pawcatuck, invading

BUNG-TOWN PAT

RIOT & General Advertiser.

VOI. 1, DU	NG-lown . rep? I	1023. No.2.
Terms. The Patriot will be published on the few annual Month, at one—Dellar per annual Advertisements, inserted at the usual prices.	tween "the friends of Messic Action Crawtord and Clay, to promote the election of Ne	mann on the Bruth
The Presidency Aleller from Washington pud- lished in the Wincheste Republican states that	Call after Will in	a visit of a few days previously to his departure. The ship

Bungtown was a small settlement within the limits of Westerly. This pen-printed sheet $(6 \times \gamma \text{ inches})$ was passed from house to house. The original is in the possession of Mr. Chas Perry, of Westerly.

the 15th enst. He le and works well ,

turned mainly upon the aboriginal ownerships in the soil. Various Indian tribes in turn had conquered the present territory of Westerly. Since the period of European exploration in America it had been the theatre for the operations of at least five aboriginal nations—the Niantics,

^{*} With the exception, of course, of the small tract before mentioned, along the coast between New London and the Connecticut River, which the Western Niantics still retained.

Musquamacott of the Eastern Niantics. A fierce battle ensued in which the Pequots gained a victory over the allied Niantics and Narragansetts, and thus "extended their territory ten miles east of the Pawcatuck." It was thus that the boundary dispute arose between the colonists. Five years after this Indian battle, in 1637, occurred the Pequot War, which, under the leadership of the renowned Captain John Mason, resulted in the practical extermination of that fierce tribe. Massachusetts claimed the Pequot country by right of conquest, and since the Pequots had taken possession of the ten-mile tract east of the Pawcatuck, the Puritans included that strip of Rhode Island in their claim.

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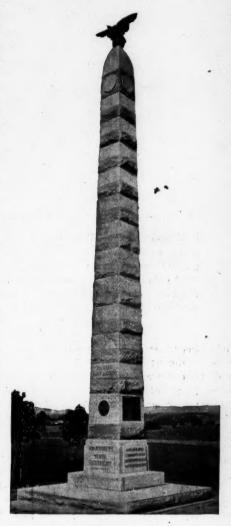
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But before considering the disputes thus engrafted upon the colonists, it is worth while to review a little more completely the history of Westerly, or Musquamacott, as the theatre of the red men. Westerly lies six miles inland, being about that distance from Stonington which crowns the western point at the mouth of the Pawcatuck, and the same distance from Watch Hill, which constitutes the eastern point. Standing upon Bear Hill, the highest elevation of Watch Hill, one can view the territory of three States of the Union. Rhode Island and Connecticut are near at hand, but, far out at sea, appears the low, blue line of Long Island. There dwelt the quarrelsome Montauks. A little nearer the main-



NINTH REGIMENT MEMORIAL.



ELM STREET, WESTERLY.

land appears also Block Island, the home of the peaceable Manisses, a small tribe which suffered much at the hands of both the Montauks and Pequots. On account of these enemies the Manisses put themselves under the protection of the Niantics, and joined the confederation which the latter established with the Narragansetts.

There are many traditions of the invasions of their respective enemies' territories by the Montauks, Niantics, and Manisses, who crossed the Sound in fleets of canoes. Watch Hill was long a sentinel post of the Niantics, from which they kept a lookout for excursions of the treacherous Long Islanders. In 1664 occurred a war between the Montauks and allied Niantics and Narragansetts, of which Roger Williams gives us some ac-

count. "The cause and root of all the present mischief," he writes, "is the pride of the two barbarians, Ascassassatic, the Long Island sachem, and Ninigret, of the Narragansetts: the former is proud and foolish; the latter is proud and fierce."

On account of their close relations the Niantics and Narragansetts were not always carefully distinguished, the latter name being made to include both tribes. Thus Ninigret was a Niantic, instead of a Narragansett, his headquarters being the present site of Westerly. This remarkable chieftain is said to have been of Pequot origin, though ruling the enemies of his own race. Roger Williams characterizes him as "a chiefe souldier," "one of the chiefe sachems," "a notable instrument." He was mainly friendly to the whites.

Tradition states that on a certain night he embarked with his warriors from Watch Hill to cross the Sound and deal a blow to his ancient enemies, the Montauks. Half way across the water he discovered the approaching canoes of the foe, evidently executing a like expedition to his territories. The reflection of the moon upon the water was such as to reveal the Montauks' movements, but conceal those of the Niantics. Ninigret, therefore, put back to shore, hid his boats, prepared an ambuscade, and slaughtered the invaders as they landed. But not satisfied with this triumph, he pushed across the Sound according to his original intention, and struck the helpless Montauks a terrible blow.

Another Indian intimately associated with the history of Westerly, was Sosoa (Socho, or Sassawwaw). He was a renegade Pequot who became the friend of Ninigret, the Niantic, and Miantonomi and Canoni-Narragansett sachems. cus, the Roger Williams, in 1637, in a letter to Governor Winthrop, declares that Sosoa first "turned to the Narrhiggansicks, and againe pretends a returne to the Pequots," and describes him as Miantonomi's "special darling, and a kind of Generall of his forces." As a reward for his prowess against the Pequots, Miantonomi and Ninigret conveyed to Sosoa the ownership of Musquamacott, and from him the early settlers of Westerly obtained their title to the land. From the record of this transfer which still exists we quote as follows:

"This deed or writing, bearing date this present twenty-ninth day June, one thousand six hundred and sixty. witnesseth: That I, Socho, an Indian Captain of Narraganset, being the true and lawful owner of a tract of land called Musquamacott, . . . surrender up all right and title to the said land . . . fully instating the said William Vaughan, Robert Stanton, John Fairfield, Hugh Mosier, James Longbottom . . . proprietors thereof to the world's end. In witness whereof, I, the Sosoa, have set to my hand and seal, the year and date above said.

"The mark of | _ | _ | Sosoa.
L. S.

"Sealed and signed in presence of Jeremy Clarke, Latham Clarke, Henry Clark, Awashwash 7, his mark, The mark, Wo, of Nucum, Interpreter, George Webb, George Gardiner."*

On August 27, 1661, a little more than a year after the date of the deed obtained from Sosoa, a curious petition is presented "To the Honored Gentlemen of the Court of Commissioners assembled together in his Majesties name, for the Collony of Providence Plantations, at Portsmouth." The petition is signed by William Vaughan and Hugh Mosier, two of the grantees mentioned in

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^{*} Rhode Island Col. Records, Vol. II., p. 450, note.

[†] R. I. Col. Rec., Vol, I., pp, 449-50.

Sosoa's deed, and seven others, Joseph Torrey, John Cranston, John Coggeshall, John Crandall, James Barker, Caleb Carr and James Rogers. "There being an opportunity or presentmente of a sartaine piece or tracke of land lately discovered or made knowne, which tract of land lyeth or is situated in the fardest or remotest corner of this Collonies Jurisdicktion, called by the name of Askomicutt," the petitioners request permission to settle upon it, declaring that the "number of persons may probably extend to the number of thirtie, fortie or fiftie, or ther aboute." In this action their patriotism is unquestioned, since they "are now confrontinge the adversaries of the Collonie, which by a specie of intrusion are seekinge to macke inroads upon our preveledges of Collonnies jurisdiction." But if their petition be but granted, they

doubt not their ability to "macke the adversarie . . . anxious to retreatt, which we question not, in poyntte of right and title from the natives."

This brings us back to the boundary question. It will be remembered that Massachusetts claimed Musquamacott by virtue of their conquest (1637) of the Pequots, who, five years previous to their destruction by the whites, had driven the Niantics from the territory. Massachusetts having settled her boundary dispute with Connecticut in 1658, had resigned to the latter Colony her claim to the Pequot country. At the time of the settlement of Westerly, therefore, the quarrel lay directly between Connecticut and Rhode Island, although Massachusetts sympathized with, and aided Connecticut. In addition to their claim, as the heir of the Pequots, the Connecticut Colonists had another ad-



WESTERLY GRANITE QUARRIES,

vantage in the fact that their charter named the Narragansett river as the boundary between Rhode Island and Connecticut. This designation, declared these ancestors of the Yankee, could not mean the Pawcatuck river, and therefore must mean Narragansett Bay. Thus they claimed not merely Musquamacott, but almost the entire territory of Rhode Island. with the persecution and indignities they had already suffered at the hands of the Puritans, it is not hard to understand that these last outrageous pretentions should have aroused the Rhode Islanders to the highest pitch of indignation, and induced a ready consent to the prayer of petitioners who stood prepared to "macke the adversarie anxious to retreatt." Under these circumstances, and with this curious and rather formidable commission, the first settlers of Westerly took possession of the soil in the name of Rhode Island and the King.

As might be expected the banks of the Pawcatuck were the scene of frequent collisions, acts of retaliation and reprisal between the Connecticut and Rhode Island pioneers. Massachusetts and Connecticut made common cause against their small and not very highly esteemed neighbor, and the records of all three colonies contain numerous accounts of professed outrages, with numerous threats and demands on the part of the respective governors and other authorities.

Happily the dispute was at length

finally settled by new charters from the King fixing the river Pawcatuck as the boundary line in unmistakable terms.

The town records of Westerly give a "List of the Free Inhabetants of the Towne of Westerle, May 18, 1669," [the month and year of its incorporation]:*

Among these names we find the ancestors of some of the most prominent citizens of the city of Westerly of to-day.

We have not space to dwell upon the part Westerly took in King Philip's War; nor to describe the execution of the last Narragansett sachem, Canonchet, which took place here; nor to pause over the stirring times of the French and Indian Wars. to tell how Block Island was plundered by the French in 1690, or how in 1710 Westerly sent twenty of her sons to help capture Port Royal, or how Watch Hill was manned as a point of "lookout" during these wars; nor to more than allude to Governor Samuel Ward, who settled in Westerly at the age of twenty, and there rose to fame and honor, recognized throughout the colonies.

^{*&}quot; John Crandall, Edward Larkin, Stephen Wilcox, John Lewis, James Cross, Jonathan Armstrong, John Maxson, Jeffree Champion, Sen., John Fairfield, Daniel Cromb, Nickolas Cottrell, Shubael Painter, Tobias Saunders, Robert Burdick, John Randall, John Matkoon, John Sharp, Daniel Stanton, James Babcock, Sen.: Thomas Painter, James Babcock, Jun., John Babcock, Job Babcock, Josiah Clark."



GRANITE EQUESTRIAN STATUE.

Westerly most gallantly performed her duty in the Revolution, during which time the signal station upon Watch Hill was once more established and manned by the "Coast Guard" on the lookout for British brigs and privateers.

The contribution of Westerly toward the religious history of Rhode Island and New England would require a long chapter by itself. The principal early churches in the order of their foundation, were as follows: First Sabbatarian Church, organized 1708 (but holding meetings soon after 1670); Early Presbyterian Church, 1733; from this last branched off the following: the "Hill Church" and

"Indian Church," 1750; some Separatists, under Mr. Davis, in 1754; and an "Independent New Light Society" the same year; other societies were, the "Wilcox Church," 1765, and the "Gardner Church" in the latter part of the eighteenth century. A Quaker meeting was established in Westerly as early as 1743, which endured long into the nineteenth century and finally expired. Most of the early Westerly churches manifested a decided tendency toward the doctrines of Roger Williams and Sabbatarianism, with a sprinkling of Congregationalism.

It is interesting to note the growth of Westerly. When incorporated in 1669 the town contained thirty families. In 1708 it contained 580 inhabitants. A census in 1730 gave to the combined settlements of Westerly, Charlestown, Richmond and Hopkinton 1,926 inhabitants, of which 250 were Indians. There was later a slower growth, and even a decrease, but this really measured Westerly's sacrifice in the Revolution, and her contribution toward the planting of the wildernesses of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Madam Knight in the journal of her memorable journey from Boston to New York, in 1704, describes the house at which she stopped in Westerly as: "enclosed with Clapboards, laid on lengthways, and so much asunder that the Light came throu' every where; the doore tyed on with a cord in ye place of hinges; The floor the bear earth; no windows but

such as the thin covering afforded, nor any furniture but a Bedd with a glass Bottle hanging at ye head on't; an earthen cupp, a small pewter Bason, a Bord with sticks to stand on instead of a table, and a block or two in ye corner instead of chairs."

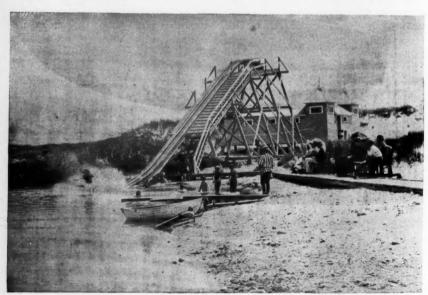
The contrast between this forlorn description and the present beautiful city of Westerly, with its ten thousand or more inhabitants in comfortable homes surrounded by beautiful lawns, is a striking illustration of the transformation which has come upon the wilderness of America in the last two hundred years. Some of the most comfortable homes in the city are owned by workmen in the shops and granite works, and it is doubtful if another city of the same size can be found where there is such a lack of genuine poverty, with a competency so universally enjoyed even by the artizans. A better understanding of how this happy condition of affairs has been brought about, will be had by a brief review of some of the principal industries of the place,

Most characteristic among these are the granite quarries, conducted by several large companies. Nature has provided magnificent deposits of this rock on "Quarry Hill," the highest elevation of the city, and millions of dollars of capital are employed in quarrying and shaping for market this abundant store. The Smith Granite Works, founded in 1846, of which Orlando R. Smith (son of the founder) is President and Treasurer;

the Rhode Island Granite Works, of which J. B. Batterson, of Hartford, Conn., is President; the Dixon, Vincent Hill, Clarke and Chapman quarries of Westerly; and adjacent Lamphear and other Niantic quarries, give some idea of the extent of this industry, which it is estimated brings in annually to Westerly not less than \$1,300,000. Some of the monuments are beautiful as works of art. A beautiful equestrian granite statue of Washington, executed by the Smith Granite Works, stands in Allegheny Park in Allegheny City, Pa. It is the first ever carved out of granite.

An aggregate capital of over \$1,-

500,000 has been invested in woollen mills. The largest of these, established in 1848, is now operated by Hon. H. O. Arnold and his brother. Another is operated by McDaggert Brothers and R. Lindley. Extensive cotton mills are also conducted in the city, and the Knight Cotton Mills at White Rock belong in the industrial picture of Westerly. This thriving little city is the headquarters for the world-renowned Cottrell printing-presses. Here was established in 1855, by C. B. Cottrell, the parent institution, which, with its several branches, controlled by Mr. Cottrell and his sons, turns out about



DIVING TOBOGGAN AT WATCH HILL.

four hundred presses annually, which are shipped to all parts of the world. A new and important industry has been added to the list in the shape of the Clark Thread Mill, which has just begun operations. The reputation of William Clark & Sons as thread manufacturers, extends into almost every corner where the civilized art and accomplishment of sewing is practiced. The machinery in their new factory at Westerly was for the first time set in motion by Mrs. C. B. Cottrell, Jr., at three o'clock on the afternoon of April 14, 1892. Four hundred hands will be employed in the new works, turning out 1,250,000 dozen spools annually.

But a still more remarkable testimony to the prosperity of the city, and frugality and enterprise of its citizens is the fact that Westerly and Pawcatuck sustain no less than eight banking institutions-four National and four Saving Banks some of these carrying capital and deposits running into the millions. pioneer among these institutions is the Washington National Bank, incorporated in June, 1800, six months after the death of President Washington, and Nationalized in 1865. The Presidency of this bank has been largely in one family, the honor descending from father to son. Its President from 1829 to 1842 was



GRANITE WORKS INTERIOR.

Nathan F. Dixon, who became United States Senator during the administration of William Henry Harrison. Senator Dixon was succeeded in the Presidency of the bank by his son, Nathan F., upon whom Congressional honors were conferred. The present Nathan F. Dixon, son and

of the other institution. Browse Babcock was the original President of the Phœnix, and his descendants have been its Presidents ever since, down to the present incumbent, Edwin Babcock. J. B. Foster is cashier, and similarly the cashiership of the bank has been held in the Fos-



BEACH AT WATCH HILL.

grandson, respectively, of the two just mentioned, is President of the bank to-day, and like his grandfather in the days of the elder Harrison, holds the honorable position of United States Senator during the administration of the second President Harrison.

The Phœnix National Bank has a history almost as venerable. It was incorporated in 1818, and Nationalized in 1865. In looking over its lists of officers we notice the same circumstance mentioned in the case

ter family since 1836. The cashier-ship also in the case of the Washington Bank above mentioned was held by Thomas Perry in 1805, passed to his son, Charles Perry, in 1826, and to his grandson, Charles Perry, Jr., in 1881. The Niantic National Bank was incorporated in 1854 and Nationalized in 1865; the Pawcatuck National, incorporated in 1865; the Westerly Savings Bank dates from 1854, the Niantic and Mechanics Savings Banks from 1870, and the Peoples Savings Bank of Pawcatuck from

1885. The depositors in these institutions number over 7,000—considerable more than half the total population of Westerly. This tells the story of the universal prosperity, and the beautiful homes of the workingmen which constitute such a remarkable feature of this delightful place.

The newspapers of Westerly are the "Narragansett Weekly," owned and conducted by George H. Utter, author of several books, and his son, George B. Utter, the present Secretary of State for Rhode Island. It also boasts the only daily paper between Westerly and Providence—the "Daily Tribune." The city affords, moreover, the best educational advantages, has an excellent circulating library, attractive churches, unusually good hotels and a theatre and other places of amusement. In

the summer Westerly becomes one of the most beautiful and inviting spots in New England, and is filled with visitors, since in addition to its own charms, the celebrated Watch Hill is only a few miles distant.

From a lookout station of the Indians and early settlers, picturesque Watch Hill has been converted into one of the most delightful watering places on the Atlantic seaboard, and is entirely given over to summer cottages, and great, roomy hotels. From the point where stands the lighthouse, the beach on either side stretches out in magnificent curves like the outspread wings of some mighty bird. It is not too much to say that these beaches are not surpassed anywhere on the Atlantic coast.

W. R. McGARRY,



HISTORICAL NOTES.

Revival
of the
Historical
Spirit in the
South.

Much has been said and written of the revival of the material prosperity of the Southern States: Striking as this has been, advances have

also been made in other and intellectual lines—and one of the most significant is the awakening of the historical spirit throughout the South. The signs of this are frequent, and so far as it is possible to read them, not superficial. The movement seems to be on a real foundation and to begin at the bottom, where all genuine and enduring growth must start.

The public press of the South, have, in a very spirited manner, taken their part in stimulating and sustaining this awakened interest in historical matters, and in some cases have been the real leaders.

Virginia, as might have been expected from a State rich to such an unusual degree in most interesting history and tradition, has shown the most vigorous and unmistakable signs of this awakening. But following closely comes the Carolinas, North and South, and Tennessee—

all these have felt the influence of the same impulse, and are seeking to stimulate the same historical spirit; gathering and sifting materials, and wisely concentrating their attention for the moment on what is local. Natural leaders have been found. chiefly in connection with the colleges, and the historical spirit in the vounger generation is being stimulated and directed by such men as Prof. Henneman, of Hampden-Sidney, Va.; Prof. Trent of Sewanee, Tenn.; Prof. Weeks, of Trinity, N. C., and others. Such planting of seed as is now being done cannot fail of a rich harvest in the near future.

It is difficult to really appreciate how far-reaching may be the effect of interesting these younger minds in historical study—both as an instrumentality in the broadest education, and as a practical training in the interest of historical literature. It is not alone education and literature that are to be benefited—but back of it all and underneath it all, will be silently growing up that broad spirit of patriotism that believes in the undivided nation—welded the more indissolubly now, because broken

once. We believe no "bloody chasm" can ever again divide the nation when history is taught from its philosophic, as well as its dramatic side, in the colleges and preparatory schools of the country.

As indicated in Virginia by Professor

Henneman.

Prof. John B. Henneman, of Hampden-Sidney College (Va.), recently read a paper before the University of Virginia, in which he took up the impor-

tance of the study of American history in the colleges and higher schools. His arguments and illustrations had the intention of bringing this subject practically before his immediate audience with the purpose of leading them to apply the spirit of historical research to the study of Virginia history and traditions.

But the reasons and methods so admirably set forth and enforced by Prof. Henneman, apply with equal cogency to the college student in Maine and California, as well as in Virginia. The practical and convincing methods by which he sought to permanently enlist the interest and enthusiasm of college students in the study of American history—and preeminently that which is local—are best shown by the following extracts:

"Allow me to indicate what I have been endeavoring to accomplish under my own very restricted conditions. I have been attempting to get

my pupils and others interested in the collection of material scattered all throughout the State and the South-in Virginian historical and literary traditions. To insure their co-operation and attention, I have organized them for the nonce into a Hampden-Sidney Historical Society to pry into and glean all the details they may be able to find respecting their local history. It has been an almost entirely neglected field in our educational institutions, so far as any systematic work has been attempted. The subject, further, appeals to the patriotism, the college enthusiasm, the local feelings of the student. It is in consonance with the great interest manifested everywhere in the study of American history and institutions. The study of the history of Virginia, too, has great importance in itself, being second to that of no State in value, and surpassing most. Above all, the inductive methods of philosophic research are clearly exemplified and practised: how to use books, examine libraries, gather details, compile notes, sift material, and draw conclusions.

"No scrap of information is too insignificant for these purposes, for preservation in local libraries. Every shred of the intellectual and social life is worth saving. No fact and circumstance is too slight to be cast aside. In every county, in each community, may be found and sketched certain traditions and local colorings —the elements (often neglected and usually overlooked) in which consist the real being of the State, and whereby a true picture of the life of the people, of their culture, their habit of thought, their latent power and inherent force, may be obtained. From a close study of old newspaper advertisements alone, the economical and social life of the past may be almost re-constructed.

"There is hardly need here for suggesting the number of monographs concerning Virginia life and history that might easily be written. It is virtually an untouched field, so limitless are its resources. Men have labored for the State and seem in danger of being forgotten, whose memory, had they lived in other sections, might have been kept green, through memoirs and biographies dedicated to their lives and deeds. To write the history of Virginia's judges and attorney-generals, great lawyers, and great teachers of the law, would be as magnificent an undertaking as that noble work, Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England.

"If I may be allowed to pass a criticism upon Dr. Thomas Nelson Page's recent article in the December Lippincott, on literature in the South since the war, I should say it is not conceived upon a sufficiently broad basis, but is taken up altogether too much with considerations of his own department, viz. fiction. The South has

a past, and it is natural that her writers linger with tender and loving remembrance upon its glories and its beauties. It is the romantic element present in fiction-just as in the conditions which produced Scott's Border Romances. This is one phase, and it is finding beautiful and worthy expression; the expression of purity, tenderness, and nobility; of ideals lost but still cherished. But it is only one phase in the complexity of Virginian intellectual activity. I believe that the extension of research means an increase in interest all along the line, in every department of intellectual work."

And in North Carolina by Professor Weeks. Professor S. B. Weeks of Trinity College, in an appeal which was primarily made in connection with the college library, writes in the following in-

spiriting and vigorous manner. There is here the same unmistakable note of the awakening interest in historical research.

"In North Carolina to-day we are entering on a new era. Nowhere is this revival more manifest than at Trinity College, which, as is well known, has been re-organized and revolutionized within the last few years. We have set out to do greater things than have ever been dreamed of in North Carolina before. Our library has had some share in this radiant awak-

ening. We wish it to profit more. We need especially books on history and most of all do we need the materials for history. Our students at present are cramped and harassed by a lack of such materials. We wish to devote ourselves to original work in the field of Southern history.

"We recognize our golden opportunity and wish to enter this great field before the ground has been taken up by others; but to do this work we must have a library strong in historical materials. Much of this material cannot be purchased in the bookmarkets. It can only be picked up here and there in the hands of private families. This material is abundant, and is frequently in the way of the present owners, who would be glad to part with it did they but know that it would be put to service. We need missionaries to go from house to house for us, in a search for these scattered but precious documents and papers. We need missionaries filled with the glowing enthusiasm that pervaded the minds and souls of the men of the Renaissance when they travelled, on foot for the most part, from city to city, and from monastery to monastery, in search of the lost writings of the ancients."

The Old Fox Corners Inn.

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The old places about which cluster historic interest are rapidly passing away, particularly in the more populous centers. For the most part it is the march of material progress that seals their doom, but now and then it is some other agency, like fire, which has recently reduced to ashes the old Fox Corners, Inn.



This ancient tavern was built about the time of the conquest of New Amsterdam by the English forces, when the old Dutch town was re-baptized as the City of New York. It was the sort of place one reads about in historical novels like Cooper's, and in the many stories, true and imaginative, that deal with those struggling colonial days.

Like many old places in the heart of New York City, or in the rapidly growing districts to the northward, little was apparently known of its real history, and that little by only a few, who mixed fact, tradition and pure romance in most unhistoric fashion. With the news of its burning people began to remember, and thus many interesting things have been brought to light.

It is located quite out of what now are the usual lines of travel, on the old West Farms road, near where the Westchester road crosses. Along the West Farms road runs a low stone fence, ancient and moss grown, and really more a stay for the higher ground behind it than a fence. Through this are several gaps in which gates once hung, wide enough to admit several British soldiers on horseback and abreast. Back in the field on a rocky summit are the ruins and all that is now left of this old Inn. It is easy to make out that it was once a two-story house, of ancient architecture, with curiously sloping roofs. The bricks are thin and flat. and were imported from Holland before bricks were made in this country,

This old tavern was said to have been built about 1661 and was opened to travellers for nearly one hundred and fifty years before the present century began. The name Fox Corners Inn was given to it during the Revolutionary era. It was the headquarters for Col. Oliver Delancey when he commanded the British forces in Westchester and guarded New York against Washington. He was a great fox hunter and used to invite his fellow British officers to come over from Long Island and join his hunts. They would set forth in the early morning with much flashing of scarlet coats, and winding of horns, and loud, gay calls of the hounds from lips long silent now.

After the war the sport continued for a time. There were great gatherings of farmers in homespun, riding on plough horses, and leaving their wives and daughters at the Inn to bake, and fry, and boil, and set the table for the returning, hungry bunters.

In its two hundred and thirty years much life flowed in and out of this old Inn and its walls must have been familiar with many strange sights and sounds. It was one of the centres of the old-fashioned life of the Colonial Revolutionary periods. There are few places now left that were so full of both romance and history as this old Fox Corners Inn, and as they go, one by one, we say good-bye to them with lasting regret.

The New England The town-meeting was the New England training-school for Town the Statesmanship Meeting. that created our Federal Republic. These town-meetings were the cradles of liberty. They were the life-blood of the patriots that came prominently forward to lead the struggle on a larger scale. These leaders who issued from New England knew what sort of popular support was behind them in every boldest utterance-in every daring revolutionary act. And we say this not as a self-satisfied New Englander, who can see no credit in the actions of any others of the origi-

nal "Thirteen"; but as a New Yorker who is "put out" with some New England historians for suppressing too often what these other colonies did and dared. For whatever of boldness and patriotism was accomplished by other colonies, the great and solid service to patriotism (to patriotic political principles especially) rendered by the New England town, must ever stand conspicuous. Hence we are sure that the record of what one such town did, as presented in this number of the magazine, will be read with interest and profit. One such town is typical of all the rest. What Dedham did, and thought, and talked, other towns "of that ilk" did, and thought, and talked; till the unanimity of the several bits of popular gathering, assumed the mighty volume of one loud, penetrating, overwhelming Vox Populi, wherein the Vox Dei was not difficult to distinguish.

Laying
the
Corner Stone
of the
Grant
Monument.

On the 27th of April, whose favoring sunshine was a most auspicious omen, was laid the corner stone of the Grant Memorial. The man to whom, next to Lin-

coln, the nation of to-day owed the most, was honored with imposing civic ceremonies and with eloquent words that, in their unaffected simplicity and almost homely sincerity, were in unique harmony with the people's estimate of the Silent Man of American history. Civic pride has moved slowly in building this Memorial, but more for want of the right leadership than on account of any real lack of appreciation of the man who stands for so much in our history, and our national pride.



It may be true that Grant did not need a monument to preserve his fame-that could not well die, but the American people needed it, as a visible testimonial teaching us of this generation, and more significantly still, our children and childrens' children, what part this great, modest soldier took in maintaining the unity of the nation. Standing in conspicuous beauty on the banks of our noblest river, and within our greatest city, this memorial will ever remain to perpetuate that feeling of patriotism which once founded and then preserved the nation, and upon

which its integrity must rest in the long future. Mr. Depew, in an oration which was instinct with true feeling for the occasion and the man, finely illustrated the reason for building so imposing a monument to honor a soldier of such notable modesty, when he said: "To lie in the churchyard where slept his father and mother would have been more in accord with his mind. But he appreciated that his countrymen had a claim upon his memory and the lessons of his life and fame. He knew that where he was buried, there they would build a shrine for the study and inspiration of coming generations."

The idea was also very strikingly developed in this most admirable oration, that a Westminster Abbey or a Pantheon is an impossibility in this Western Republic. We have here no centre which is the real starting-point of great intellectual and political movements representing, in even a

remote way, what Paris is to France, or London to the British Empire. We have had none since Boston set in motion the patriotic forces that resulted in our national independence. Our nationality as a creating sentiment has grown with the spreading out of the nation in new States. and refuses longer to be localized. To use Mr. Depew's inspiring words: "The altars upon which the fires of patriotism are ever burning, are North, South, East and West. Every State cherishes the remains of its citizens, whose illustrious achievements are the glory of the country and the pride of their commonwealth; whose works and lives are ever living lessons of love and devotion to the flag and Constitution of the United States." And how vividly the thought is brought out, as we remember that Washington sleeps at Mt. Vernon, Jefferson at Monticello, Lincoln at Springfield, Sherman at St. Louis, and Grant at New York.



THE ORIGINATOR OF GREENBACK CURRENCY.

COLONEL EDMUND DICK TAYLOR.

In the pioneer era of its history, the State of Illinois was prolific of interesting historical characters; of men who braved perils and endured hardships in laying the foundations of a great commonwealth; of strong, courageous, self-reliant and resourceful men; of broad-minded, far-seeing and sagacious men, and of men who seemed to be peculiarly adapted to the conditions of frontier life.

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Col. Edmund Dick Taylor—whose death in Chicago December 5, 1891, attracted for the time being the attention of the press of the country, and through which prominent mention was made of some of his most notable achievements—was one of the last survivors of the pioneer era, and among all those whose names will always be identified with the formative period of the State's history, there was no more interesting, no more picturesque character.

Although not much in public life at least not many years in official life he was instrumental in bringing before the public some of the men who became in later years, arbiters of a nation's destinies and whose achievements gave them a place among the most conspicuous characters of American history. Contemplating his career one must regard him as a kind of modern king maker. A man of rare discernment, he recognized the elements of greatness in men like Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, while they were still struggling in obscurity, and to him both are indebted largely for the fame which they subsequently achieved.

Politically, he affiliated with Douglas and shaped the influences and operated the agencies which carried him into public life. To Lincoln he was antagonistic politically, prior to the war period, but took a keen interest in seeing the great emancipator start on his career-was always his warm personal friend and adviser, and, not infrequently, his active coadjutor in campaigns where only state or local issues were involved. With all the men who have been prominent in public life in Illinois, he was more or less intimately acquainted and associated. The first governor of the territory of Illinois was Ninian Edwards, an appointee of President Madison, who held the office from 1809 to 1818, and was governor of the State after its admis-

sion to the Union. Beginning with Governor Edwards, Col. Taylor enjoyed the acquaintance and friendship of all his successors down to Governor Fifer, the present incumbent of the office. He was more or less intimately acquainted with every president of the United States, from President Andrew Jackson, down to President Benjamin Harrison, and he had met nearly all the famous oldtime Whig, Democratic and Republican statesmen who came into prominence within the thirty years preceding the war period, as well as those who were most conspicuously identified with the suppression of the rebellion.

Having lived through a period which gave to our national history its most thrilling, its most tragic, and its most eventful chapters; having been familiar to a great extent with the causes which operated to promote political discord; having been in position to understand the passions which swayed the minds of political leaders, and having known personally the actors in the great national drama which culminated in establishing the sovereignty of the general government of the United States, Col. "Dick" Taylor, as he was generally known throughout the West, could not have been other than a most attractive character in the later years of his life. Then, when one considers the fact that, in addition to having had these experiences and associations, he had the figure and manners

of the old-school Southern gentleman, with just a touch of western brusqueness, and that "holding his life an open book" he was always ready to turn page after page for the information and entertainment of those who sought his company, it is easy to understand that he occupied so unique a position among historical personages, as to make the story of his life one of rare interest.

Edmund Dick Taylor was born in Fairfax Court House, Virginia, Oct. 18, 1802. He was the son of Giles Taylor, a Virginia planter, who was brother to Col. Richard Taylor, the father of General Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States. While still an infant, Taylor's father removed from Virginia to Christian County, Kentucky, where he lived until 1814, when he became one of the pioneer settlers of Shawneetown, Ills. Giles Taylor died soon afterward, leaving his family with limited means of support, by reason of his having made some unfortunate investments. The son was thrown practically upon his own resources at twelve or thirteen years of age, and the necessity for engaging in some employment which would contribute to his own support and that of the family, cut short his early education and sent him out into the world to seek knowledge in the great school of experience. That he was an apt pupil was demonstrated by the fact that while still a mere boy, he began managing business ventures of

considerable magnitude, and in the conduct of these affairs was able to command the confidence and capital of some of the leading men of Shawneetown. Early in life he demonstrated his capacity for operating on a large scale as an Indian and frontier trader. His first venture of this kind was set on foot with a capital of two hundred and fifty dollars. He interested with him a wealthy salt manufacturer of Shawneetown, who furnished additional capital to the amount of eight thousand dollars and together they loaded a flat boat with goods of various kinds, with which he started down the Ohio River. Disposing of these goods among the Indians of the Arkansas country, he returned to St. Louis with furs and peltry which brought him, in that market, thirty-two thousand dollars. His share of the profits of this trading expedition gave him a comfortable start in life, and he soon afterward removed to Springfield, Illinois, where he engaged in the mercantile business with Col. John Taylor, the first sheriff of Sangamon County, Col. John Taylor was also from Kentucky, having removed from Crab Orchard to Edwardsville, Illinois, and later settled on a tract of land which now constitutes a considerable portion of the city of Springfield. He was a distinguished pioneer citizen, who laid out the towns of Taylorsville and Petersburg, Illinois, and filled among other important positions, that of Receiver of the Land Office at Sprinfield, by appointment of President Andrew Jackson.

In 1829, E. D. Taylor, married Margaret, one of the four daughters of Col. John Taylor, and established his home in Springfield. Prior to his marriage, however, he had been attracted to the Galena lead-mining district, and had left his business at Springfield in charge of his partner, while he "took a turn at mining." In this he was quite as successful as he had been in Indian trading. The first claim he located-which he named in honor of General Jacksonproved to be a paying mine, and after realizing a handsome sum from the output, he sold the property to General Henry Dodge, and returned to Springfield to resume merchandising.

When the Black Hawk War broke out in 1831, he was appointed by Governor Duncan to a colonelcy, and served with Jefferson Davis, General George Jones, General Henry Dodge, and other notable men who participated in the frontier warfare of that period. In 1832 he was elected to the lower branch of the State Legislature, and after serving a term in the House of Representatives, he ran for the Senate, and was elected, defeating the famous Methodist revivalist, Peter Cartwright. One of the questions being agitated at that time was the removal of the State Capitol from Vandalia to Springfield, and Colonel Taylor promised his constituents, that, if elected, he would put through a bill providing for the removal. To accomplish this he joined forces with Abraham Lincoln, then a member of the House of Representatives, and to the efforts of these two men, Springfield is mainly indebted for the enactment of the law which made that city the capital of Illinois.

Col. Taylor first became acquainted with Lincoln when the latter was doing business as a country storekeeper in a log cabin, in the town of New Salem. A short acquaintance convinced him that Lincoln was a man of more than ordinary ability, and he advised him to study law. Lincoln's answer to this proposition was that he could not afford to purchase the books necessary for a proper course of study, and to relieve him of this embarrassment, Taylor secured for him a nominal connection with the law office of Judge Stephen Logan, one of the most noted members of the Illinois bar, which gave him the privilege of using the Judge's law library. It was this action of Col. Taylor which started Lincoln on the road to fame

He became acquainted with Stephen A. Douglas when the latter was teaching school in southern Illinois, and took the same interest in advising him to prosecute his law studies that he took in assisting and advising Lincoln. He was older than either of these men, was a prosperous man of affairs, had begun to wield an important influence as a public man, and his friendship was unquestionably of inestimable advantage to them.

as lawyer and statesman.

It is not probable that it ever occurred to him in those days that he was "coaching" two future canditates for the presidency of the United States, but he nevertheless showed rare discernment in going out of his way to put two struggling young menin the way of reaching positions of such remarkable eminence in after years.

In 1835 Col. Taylor was appointed Receiver of Public Moneys at Chicago, and at once removed to what had been known up to that time only as a frontier trading-post. Upon being sworn into office, he was required to give bonds in the sum of thirty thousand dollars, that amount being deemed sufficient to secure all the money likely to come into his hands. at any time, at the new Land Office, To the surprise and astonishment of the authorities at Washington, however, he realized from the first sale of lands after the office was opened-at prices ranging from one dollar and twenty-five to one dollar and fifty cents per acre-four hundred and thirty-two thousand dollars. This money he sent by boat to the sub-treasury at Detroit, and forwarded his report to Washington. President Jackson was amazed at the results of the sale and wanted to know "where on earth all that money came from." Col. Taylor's reply was that it had been received from every civilized nation on the globe, and upon the occasion of his next visit to Washington, he was given a public

banquet, at which high government officials testified to their appreciation of his remarkable success in conducting a government land sale.

While holding the office of Receiver of Public Moneys in Chicago, he also took an active interest in business enterprises, establishing the first wholesale dry-goods store in the city which so suddenly sprang into existence.

He was one of the commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions for the pioneer railroad of Northern Illinois, and at a later date materially aided the Michigan Central Railroad Company in the work of pushing the Chicago end of its line to completion. After remaining some years Chicago, he removed to Michigan City, Indiana, where he engaged in banking, building up one of the famous financial institutions of the West. As a banker, his rare financial ability became more than ever apparent, and he was frequently called upon to aid other monetary institutions in extricating themselves from embarrassments. At one time, a noted pioneer bank of Milwaukee, being hard pressed for funds on account of a "run" which had been systematically planned to bring about its overthrow, appealed to Col. Taylor for assistance. Without the least hesitation he despatched fifty thousand dollars, on a lake vessel, to Milwaukee, and thereby saved his friends from bankruptcy. While living in Indiana, he was as conspicuously

identified with politics and public affairs as he had previously been in Illinois. In 1850 he was elected a delegate to the convention which framed the present constitution of of that State, and served as a member of that body with Thos. A. Hendricks, Wm. H. English, W. S. Holman, General A. P. Hovey and other men of national prominence. He left Michigan City with a large fortune, which he had accumulated through his banking and other operations, and again located in Chicago, where he had extensive realty interests.

In Illinois he again assumed his old position as one of the recognized leaders of the Democratic party, and the staunch friend and supporter of his former protege, Stephen A. Douglas. On one occasion only, prior to the war, did he waver in his allegiance to the Democratic organization, and that was in 1856, when he supported Col. Wm. H. Bissell, for governor, on account of a state issue involved in the canvass, concerning which he was in hearty sympathy with the Republican nominee, On this occasion he stumped the State with Lincoln, and won a gold watch from General John A. Logan, as the result of a wager on Bissell's election.

In 1860 he stumped the State against Lincoln, but when the rebellion was precipitated by the result of the election, his patriotism was aroused, and he unhesitatingly gave to the policy of the administration his unqualified support and en-

dorsement. That Lincoln had great confidence in the wisdom and sagacity of his old friend, is unquestionably true, and that he was summoned to Washington for consultation concerning the impending financial crisis in 1862, is affirmed by those who should know whereof they speak. That at this consultation he suggested and persistently advocated the issue of the "Greenback" currency, and that the President endorsed the suggestion seems to be so credibly proven as to entitle him to the distinction of being recognized as "The Father of the Greenback." During the war he contributed liberally of his large means to aid in its prosecution. He spent nearly all his time during the four eventful years of its duration, either in Washington or "at the front," and he was frequently the bearer of important messages which passed between the President and Generals Grant and Sherman, and other leaders of the Union armies.

Not only were the services which have been mentioned, and those rendered in furnishing clothing and supplies to the troops sent out from Illinois in the early part of the war, such as to command the high regard of all those who esteem true patriotism, but the influence which he wielded in bringing to the support of Lincoln's administration the masses of the Democratic party in Illinois, was of incalculable benefit to the Union cause.

After the war, although he retained his connection with the Democratic party to the end of his life, he took a less active interest in politics. His attention was given chiefly to various business enterprises. At LaSalle he opened the first coal mines operated in Northern Illinois, and was the pioneer in developing the vast mineral wealth of this region.

The Chicago fire of 1871 affected his fortune most disastrously, sweeping away in fact the greater part of it. From 1876, up to the time of his death, he spent most of his time at Mendota, Illinois, but looked upon Chicago as his home—the great city which had grown up on land which he sold at government prices in 1835.

Col. Taylor died in Chicago at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. I. W. Rogers, and the funeral which took place was attended by prominent citizens of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and other western States. One of the most distinguished of those present was his life-long friend, General George W. Jones, one of the first United States Senators from Iowa, who delivered a brief, but touching eulogy over the remains of the noted pioneer.

Col. Taylor's wife, with whom he had lived nearly sixty-two years, two sons and two daughters are the surviving members of one of the most notable pioneer families of Illinois.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

THE SOUTHERN SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, III.

THE full force and significance of the Southern Society of New York, is only understood by a consideration of the number of prominent and representative men of the metropolis who constitute its membership: Its first president, Mr. Algernon S. Sullivan, for example, was a man of the highest type, combining great ability and unquestioned integrity with splendid social qualities, and was in an unusual degree, truly representative of the organization. Mr. Sullivan's remarks at the First Annual Banquet of the Society, upon the anniversary of Washington's birthday, February 22, 1892, were a perfect formulation of the spirit and animus of the young Society, and have been fully justified in its later growth. Said Mr. Sullivan:

"As we ask our compatriots to unite with us in appropriate tributes, we signify the spirit which animates the Society. It is fellowship in thought and sympathy with all others in New York who would make this 'City of Cities' a shrine for the excellent in all things. Will they honor the nation's heroes, 'our loftier

brothers'-we will honor them too. Have they projects, by popular education, to develope the mind and refine the character-we will support them. Will they make efforts to purify politics and the public service -we will unite in those efforts. Have they enterprises to enlarge commerce and the industrial arts-we also will engage with them. Do they undertake plans to ameliorate the pains and cares of humanity-we will cooperate. Will they bind respect for law and order, and all the obligations of good citizenship about their necks -we ask leave to enlist with them in the ranks. Do they hold the sentiment that in our country each section exists for all sections and every section for each-we respond with a deep sense of its obligation on ourselves. Would they care for and uphold those of our fellow citizens, without distinction of race, whose lot is affected by any burdens of the past -the members of this Society represent those who have feeling and purpose to follow duty along that upward path. Will they stand by an indissoluble Union of indestructible States, in a spirit of justice and friend-ship, in the spirit of Washington—they will ever find in this Society a faithful, a courageous, and an honorable ally."

If these words will be taken, in their full and entire meaning, to describe the Southern Society and outline its objects, a true sense of its significance is possible. While its members are Southern men, or children of Southerners, and quite a proportion of them formerly Confederate soldiers-yet they are all to-day citizens of a great northern metropolis, a part of its life, its bone and sinew, contributors to its growth and prosperity, fully identified with its interests and institutions, with homes planted in its midst, and children growing up to breath its atmosphere and accept its future as theirs by birth-right. To employ a figure, they stand in the unique position of a Southern tree which has been permanently transplanted to northern soil, to bear the fruit of Union, fraternity, peace and concord forevermore—a guarantee of the future greatness of one indivisible nation.

The large membership of the Southern Society represents every occupation and kind of enterprise, almost, and the members occupy the first rank in their various professions. This is well illustrated in the cases of the three eminent physicians-prominent members of the Society-brief sketches of whom are given in this number. Two of these, Dr. G. T. Harrison, and Dr. J. Harvie Dew. were soldiers in the Confederate Army, being mere boys at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and all three of them are descendants of illustrious Southern ancestors. The intimate relation which a physician sustains to the life and society of the community in which he dwells, makes him necessarily an integral part of that community, and no more fitting exemplification of the beneficial effects of the infusion of Southern blood in New York City could be cited than is furnished by the story of their careers.

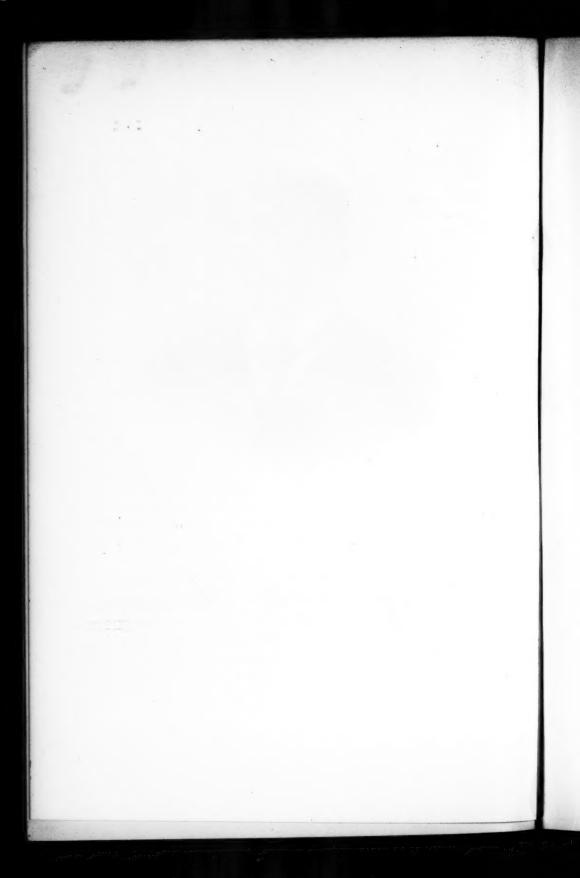
DR. GEORGE T. HARRISON.

The subject of this sketch, George Tucker Harrison, is peculiarly identified with an institution, founded by Thomas Jefferson, which for nearly a century has been the pride of the entire South—the University of Virginia. It may be said that Mr. Har-

rison was fairly born in the University, July 23, 1835; both his father, Gessner Harrison, and his grandfather on his mother's side, George Tucker, holding professorships in the institution at the time. Both of these men were possessed of remarkable



George Tucker Harrison



abilities, attained national reputations, were known to scholars in Europe, and were especially esteemed and honored thoughout the South.

Gessner Harrison, in turn, was the son of an illustrious father, - Dr. Peachy Harrison, an eminent Virginia physician of great scholarly attainments who was a member of the famous Virginia Convention of 1829-30, and later of the Virginia Senate. Born in 1807, Gessner Harrison graduated from the University of Virginia in Greek and medicine in 1828, and immediately, at the unprecedented age of twenty-one, was appointed professor of ancient languages in the institution, serving through a long term of thirty-one years, and also for a long period as Chairman of the Faculty. He was an enthusiast in the study of the languages, a pioneer in the development of comparative etymology at a time when this important branch was first engaging the attention of German professors, and author of a remarkable Latin grammar, an exhaustive and original work on "The Greek Prepositions" and a "Geography of Ancient Italy and Southern Greece." He had been for years collecting materials for more ambitious works, but his plans in this direction were interrupted by his sudden death in the prime of life. As to the part he played in general toward the upbuilding of the University and the elevation of education, we have this testimony of Dr. John A. Broadus:

"It is marvellous to our older men, when they remember how generally and in how high a degree the standard of education was raised in Virginia and in the South between 1830 and 1860. Let it never be forgotten that the University of Virginia did this; and there is no invidious comparison in saying that, far beyond any other man, it was done by the University Professor of Ancient Languages."

George Tucker, the grandfather, as has been said, was also a man of great force of character and diverse talents. He was professor of moral philosophy from the inception of the University till his resignation in 1845. Before his appointment to this position he had published a volume of essays "characterized by the purity and elegance of style, and by the force and clearness of thought, which mark all his writings." While professor he published the well-known "Life of Jefferson," in two volumes, and several works on political economy, among them his "Progress of the United States in Fifty Years," a pioneer but extended treatise of deductions from the census reports. After his resignation, at the age of eighty, he published a "History of the United States," in four volumes, which is "believed to be unequalled as a reliable and instructive account of the formation and early working of the government of the United States."

Like his father before him, George

Tucker Harrison graduated from the University of Virginia, taking the degree of M. A. in 1854. Two years later he graduated from the medical department of the same institution. He spent about nine months, following his graduation, in St. Joseph's Hospital, Philadelphia, and then settled in St. Louis, where he practised his profession till the certainty of secession suddenly recalled him to Virginia. Upon the outbreak of hostilities he offered his services to his State. He was appointed assistantsurgeon at first, but very soon made surgeon. He was present, under Beauregard, at the first battle of Bull Run, and continued in the service till the close of the war.

A commission to which he was appointed in 1864, when the cause of the Confederacy was nearing its end, illustrates the pathetic necessity to which General Lee was brought to recruit his dwindled army. The commission consisted of three surgeons, appointed by the surgeon-general of the confederate army at the instance of the Secretary of War. Dr. Harrison from Longstreet's Corps, Dr. Robert T. Coleman from Ewell's, and Dr. J. F. Miller from A. P. Hill's, were the men chosen, Dr. Coleman being president of the commission. The duties of the commission, performed during the winter and spring of 1864, required the inspection of the confederate hospitals, and the sending to the front of "every man who could bear a musket." Many were the men, suffering from minor or imaginary ailments, for whom the commission prescribed "a change of scene, air and incident," as they felicitously phrased it. Yet the task for the most part was affecting. The exigencies of the confederate situation and the peremptory orders of the commission, required a close discrimination, and it was a most painful duty to force men recently convalescent, to trudge in squads of fifty or a hundred back to their commands.

A characteristic incident occured in this connection. Dr. Coleman having known young Harrison when the latter was a fun-loving boy, could only think of him as still a youngster. Accordingly, when Harrison's name was sent to him as one of the commission, he dispatched a note to General Lee requesting the substitution of some other man. Lee sent a prompt reply, dryly informing Coleman that he would find Harrison the right man for the place. After the valuable service of Dr. Harrison on the commission had fully justified the General's firmness in his selection, Dr. Coleman generously told the story himself.

Dr. Harrison was married in October, following the close of the war, and in 1868 he came to New York City. The great northern metropolis afforded the most adequate field of labor for a man of ambition and high aspirations; yet the young physician did not fail to realize that amid so

great competition only superior abilities and indomitable energies and will could gain a foothold for a southerner. But being known to the eminent surgeon, Dr. Emmet, he fortunately secured a position upon the house staff of the Women's Hospital, and served the regular term in that capacity. A short time subsequently he was appointed assistant-surgeon to the same hospital under Dr. Emmet, serving for a period of fifteen years. When his term of regular service in the hospital had closed, he began the general practice of his profession on his own account, making a specialty of gynæcology and obstetrics, along which lines he is considered one of the ablest physicians in the city. While enjoying a very lucrative practice, he is known as a careful and conscientious practitioner, who is more devoted to medicine for the the sake of the science than for purely personal reasons.

In 1890 he was president of the New York County Medical Association, declining a re-nomination on account of a lack of time to devote to the duties of the position.

In 1890, by invitation of the Faculty of the University of Virginia, Dr. Harrison delivered a medical address on the University Life and Work of Dr. James L. Cabell, his old teacher, who died in August, 1889, at the age of seventy-six. This remarkable man had held the chair of anatomy and surgery, changed to physiology and surgery in the University of Virginia,

for fifty-two years, besides rendering distinguished services to the United States Government as a member of the American Public Health Association, and as president of the National Board of Health, created by special act of Congress in 1879. After the valuable work done in this capacity in checking the yellow fever epidemic in the Mississippi valley and along the Gulf coast, Dr. Cabell in 1881 was named by the President of the United States as senior delegate and presiding officer of an International Sanitary Conference.

The tone and sentiment of Dr. Harrison's published address in memory of Dr. Cabell, shows the former to stand with his famous teacher in appreciation of the grave responsibility which the practice of medicine involves, and the value of faith in God as well as in science, in contrast to materialistic speculations, and the consequent dulling of the sense of moral obligation.

Dr. Harrison has a pleasant home on West Twenty-third street, and a family of three daughters and one son, Gessner, named for his grandfather, who is a graduate of medicine of two years' standing, and a member of the staff of the Charity Hospital of New York. He is one of the representative men of the Southern Society, representing the South not alone by virtue of his illustrious ancestry, but by his own characteristic abilities, large hospitality, and broadminded patriotic sentiments.

DR. J. HARVIE DEW.

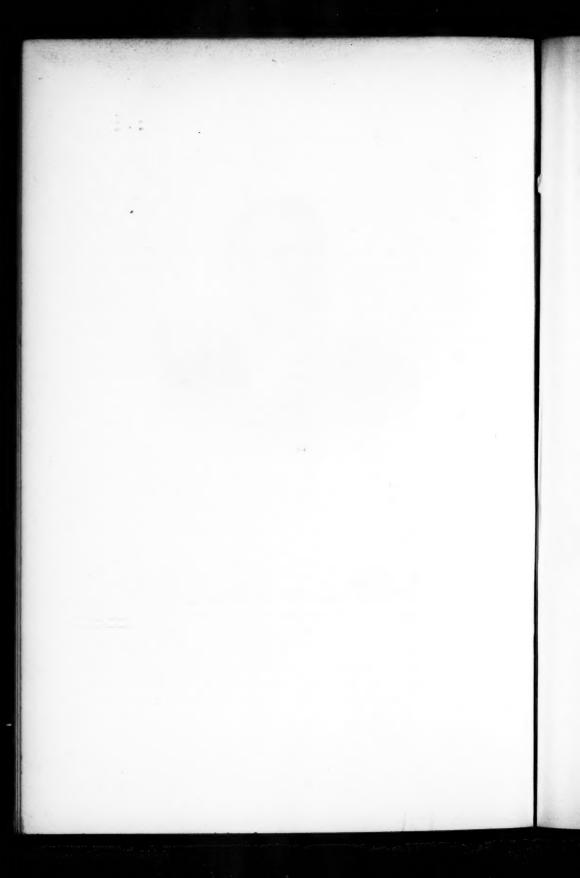
No result of the Civil War has been more significant or interesting than the tides of emigration which it set in motion from the North and South toward the opposite sections. Northern farmers have purchased Southern farms, and Northern capitalists have extensively engaged in mining and manufacturing in the South. Southern men, on the other hand, have invaded our Northern cities and made substantial conquests in professional pursuits, as well as in the management of great commercial and financial enterprises. There is something instructive, as well as interesting, in the career of a young Confederate soldier, who, finding his cause defeated in the trial of armed forces, lays down his gun, proceeds to the very heart of the North-the great metropolis where the battle of life is fiercest - and there, by his inherent abilities, pluck and energy, reaches the ran's of a representative man among the multitude of his profession. Such is the career of Dr. J. Harvie Dew of New York, already referred to, the story of whose life we are about to consider more in detail.

Dr. Dew is descended from Thomas Dew, one of the Speakers of the House of Burgesses in the old colonial days of Virginia, and one of the

commissioners appointed to settle the boundary disputes between Virginia and the neighboring colonies of the Carolinas. His grandfather, also named Thomas, was a captain of militia during the war of 1812. His father, Benjamin F. Dew, was a man of sterling worth, who graduated from William and Mary College, taking the degrees, successively, of B. A., M. A. and B. L. He was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law, but abandoned that profession for the more enjoyable and profitable farm-life of a Virginia gentleman. One of his estates was Malvern Hill where the famous battle of that name was fought during the Civil War. The character of Benjamin F. Dew cannot be better described than in the words of the late Hon. D. C. De Jarnette of Virginia, who wrote concerning him: "I have never known a more cultivated and intelligent gentleman. His rare integrity and high culture, united with his genial and courteous manners, won the love and admiration of all who knew him." The same traits here ascribed to the father, are marked characteristics of his two sons, Dr. Dew of New York, and Judge John G. Dew of Virginia. His mother was Mary Susan Garnett, daughter of Col. Reuben M. Garnett,



Hanie Dew M.D.



of King and Queen County, Virginia.

Dr. Dew's uncle, Professor Thomas R. Dew, was a distinguished educator in the South, during the second quarter of the present century, who at the time of his untimely death, having only attained to the age of forty-four, had already acquired a national reputation. After graduating from William and Mary College. he was made professor in that institution at the early age age of twentythree, the duties of instructor in history, political economy, political law and metaphysics, devolving upon him. Unquestionably, he was the pioneer in America in the philosophical method of studying history. Speaking of the period in which Mr. Dew lived, Prof. Herbert R. Adams, of John Hopkins University, declares: "Professor Dew gave the most thorough and comprehensive course on history of which the writer has found any record," and he further characterizes him as "a teacher whose doctrines entered into the political life of the Southern people." Independent of his work in immediate connection with William and Mary College (he was the president of that institution from 1836 until his death in 1846), his published "Lectures on the Restrictive System," his essays on "Slavery" and the "French Revolution," his articles on "The Distinguishing Characteristics of the Sexes" and his "Digest of the Laws, Customs, Manners and Institutions of

the Ancient and Modern Nations," were works of great importance and wide spread influence at the time of their production. His "Restrictive System" is credited with having brought about the tariff compromise of 1832, and John Quincy Adams declared that his treatise on "Slavery" marked a new era in the history of the country.

Born October 18, 1843, on his father's estate in King and Queen County, Virginia, Dr. J. Harvie Dew is now in the prime of life. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War, at the age of eighteen, he enlisted in the Ninth Virginia Cavalry, and continued in active service till the close of the contest, under the leadership of the famous "Jeb" Stuart and his successors.

This branch of the service was dashing and exciting, and its experiences especially qualified Dr. Dew for his unique bit of history on "The Yankee and Rebel Yells," which has just appeared in the April number of the "Century Magazine." Volumes have been written upon the principal engagements and various military manœuvres of the war, the discussions proceeding from every possible standpoint; but the literature of the great conflict has probably received no contribution more appropriate, and certainly none more striking or universally interesting, than this entertaining exposition and philosophy of the characteristic "yells" of the opposing armies. These war-cries were the outgrowth and expression of the different customs and conditions in the North and South, and exercised their due influence in the struggle, as Dr. Dew affirms; and it was important that someone should interpret their significance for the future historian. Dr. Dew has performed this task with signal ability, clothing his unique subject with especial interest by his admirable literary style.

After the close of the war, Dr. Dew studied medicine at the University of Virginia, graduating in 1867. The following year he came to New York City, a field which offered the greatest opportunities to his ambition, but at the same time presented equally formidable obstacles to a young man who had only his own energies and abilities to assist him. He served a term in the great Charity Hospital of New York, and thereafter commenced the general practice of his profession. The struggle was severe at first, but gradually he built up a constituency, until he now enjoys a very extensive and lucrative practice.

In 1872 he was appointed professor of anatomy, physiology and hygiene in the New York Evening High School. He held this position nine years, lecturing five times each week, but the demands of a constantly increasing private practice compelled him to resign in 1881. His remarkable success as a lecturer before the High School pupils was largely

due to a rare faculty for presenting scientific knowledge in popular shape, making it readily understood by the dullest, and intensely interesting to the more intelligent student. The constant exercise of this talent has also been an important factor in his success as a general practitioner; for nothing adds so much to the confidence of a patient as a lucid and precise explanation of the nature and treatment of his disease.

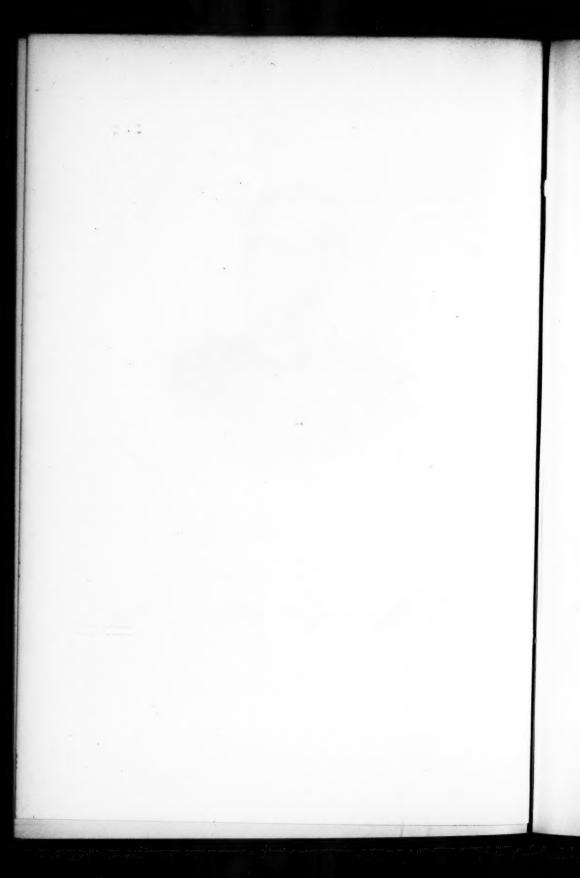
Thus his practical experience acquired at Charity Hospital, together with his years of special study in preparation of his lectures, have eminently qualified him for his professional work. While giving his attention to the general practice of medicine, he is especially fond of obstetrics, and eminently successful in that department. Indeed, for years he has made this a special study, and has accumulated a mass of materials on the subject, consisting largely of original notes of his own observations and experiences, which when given to the world, will doubtless constitute a valuable and practical contribution towards the advancement of that division of medical practice.

In 1885 Dr. Dew was married to Miss Bessie Martin, of Memphis, Tennessee, a lady of much personal beauty and pre-eminent social graces. Their hospitable home is the center of a delightful society, and it need not be said that the influence of this



The National Warmen

I. Montfort Schley md.



charming lady has been of the greatest assistance to her husband in his professional life.

Dr. Dew is a fellow of the Academy of Medicine and a member of many medical associations. Still in the prime of life, it is evident that the period of his greatest usefulness has only just begun, both in the line of his profession, and in the prosecution

of literary pursuits, for which he has shown himself eminently qualified, and which it is hoped he will not, in the future, neglect. Dr. Dew displays the great versatility of talent which characterizes so many of his Southern countrymen. The Southern Society of New York is singularly rich in such examples.

DR. JAMES MONTFORT SCHLEY.

Dr. James Montfort Schley, born at Savannah, Georgia, April 1, 1852, was the son of Dr. James Montfort Schley, a homœopathic physician of acknowledged ability and high standing in the South, and Marianne (Sullivan) Schley, formerly of Boston. On both sides of his family Dr. Schley is descended from notable ancestors, His grandfather was Judge John Schley of Augusta, Ga., one of five brothers born in Baltimore. Judge Schley married a Virginia lady, Mary de Montfort, of Huguenot descent, and practiced law in Georgia, presiding on the Bench during the last sixteen years of his life, until his death in 1846. Dr. Schley's mother was a daughter of Hon. William Sullivan of Boston, a granddaughter of Governor James Sullivan of Massachusetts, and grand niece of General John

Sullivan of Revolutionary fame.

The education of Dr. Schley was carefully provided for by his father and mother. They employed a governess and tutor at their home in Savannah during his early years; and when his strong predilections for a medical career forced them to consent to his becoming a physician, it was decided that he should finish his education in Europe. In accordance with this plan he was placed by his mother in 1865 in the school of Dr. Steele on the Isle of Man. Subsequently he was removed to the Lycée in Versailles, and was at length sent to the private school of Dr. Kornemann, and there, prepared for the Gymnasium at Weimar, Germany. During his course at Weimar he lived in the home and was under the special care of Prof. Buscher, and he

owes much to the constant vigilance and guidance of that scholar. He remained at Weimar until his graduation from the Gymnasium in 1870, then returned to America and studied medicine, and received his degree and diploma at Savannah in 1872.

The young physician was not old enough to begin practice, and his father desired him to enjoy the advantage of further study. Accordingly he returned to Europe as a student: but with the privilege of a doctor, and entered the famous school of medicine at Vienna. After spending two years at this institution, he also attended the famous homœopathic school at Buda-Pesth in Hungary. With this thorough study of the two great systems of medical science at two of the most renowned institutions of the representative systems, he returned to this country, decided in the adoption of Homœopathic principles and practice.

Soon after his return his father died, and on October 6, 1874, he was married to Margaret Thompson Spaulding, daughter of Henry F. Spaulding, a prominent banker and financier of New York City. He began at once to practice in New York, making his present residence, No. 1 East Forty-Second Street, his home. He has a family of four children, two sons and two daughters.

Dr. Schley has been prominently identified with the progress of the homecopathic school in New York He became a member of the New York County Homœopathic Medical Society in 1874, and has served as president of that organization. In 1875 he was made a member of the American Institute of Homocopathy. and in 1880 of the Homocopathic Medical Society of the State of New York. He was elected honorary member of the Albany County Homœopathic Medical Society in 1890. He has also held the following positions in connection with his profession: President of the New York Jahr Club; Professor of Physical Diagnosis in the New York Homœopathic Medical College and Hospital for women; Surgeon to the Homœopathic Ophthalmic Hospital; Member of the Medical Staff of the Hahnemann Hospital; Consulting Physician to the Western Dispensary; Professor of Clinical Medicine at the New York Homeopathic Hospital and College, Member of the New York Homœopathic Sanitarium Association, etc.

As a member of the committee of the State Homœopathic Medical Society on medical legislation, Dr. Schley has taken an active part and done vigorous work in the interest of homœopathy. During the past few years a severe contest has been in progress between the leaders of the Allopathic and the Homœopathic Schools of New York to secure desirable legislation on the subject of State medical examining and licens-

ing boards. The Allopathic school contends for a single State board; the Homœopathic school for separate boards, for each of the three recognized schools of medicine.

From the Homœopathic standpoint the question resolves itself into the following shape: "The forms of bills presented by the Allopathic school were so constructed that the representatives of that school would acquire legal power by which they would be able to completely control and monopolize the right of medical licensure. The forms of the bills proposed by the Homœopathic school were so as to extend to the representatives of each of the recognized schools of medicine full jurisdiction over their own students.

"The liberal provisions of the Homeopathic school was incorporated on the ground that the right of medical licensure, being a civil privilege, could not be exclusively exercised and controlled by the Allopathic, without detriment to the Homeopathic and Eclectic schools. Hence, all these schools have equal civil privileges, and all should be held equally responsible for the proper exercise of the privileges."

With the conviction that his case is just, Dr. Schley, as has been said, has exercised a most earnest zeal and activity in disseminating information among members of the State legislature from New York City and elsewhere, in the interest of the Homœopathic bills as opposed to the measures proposed at Albany by the Allopathic leaders. In these efforts he has earned the gratitude of the Homœopathic school of medicine in this country.

Dr. Schley is a close student, and a careful and accurate observer. He has completed the records of many clinical cases of the deepest interest. These papers have been read before numerous medical associations with which he is in fellowship, and have been published in various medical journals. Their author is one of the most able of the representatives of the South in New York City, and an honorable member of the Southern Society. He combines the hospitality, geniality and good-will of the typical Southerner, with the polish and quiet demeanor which his scholarly habits and European education have naturally conferred upon him.

THEODORE JOHNSON.

GENESIS OF THE NAME AND FAMILY OF COLE.

ONE of the interesting special lines of historical research is connected with tracing the genesis of a family name. That of Cole is one of the most interesting. It represents several nationalities and the ramifications from its various branches have been so numerous, and the dispersion through the United States so general, that, collectively, its numbers are much larger than would be supposed.

The name is found in ancient Britain, in Holland, France, probably Scotland, and in Germany, and anciently has no little prestige. The family in this country are chiefly descended from the English line. The Holland branch comes next. In the Dutch language the name is spelled Kool—the transition coming easily, K being the English C and the "oo" changed to long "o." The Irish branch is an offshoot from the English family, its origin dating back to the reign of James I.

English literature discloses some mythological significance. In one analysis we find Cole to be identical with Co-el or Co-ell—signifying Heavenly or the House of the Deity; for the place of worship was often identical with the person to whom the

worship was directed. In a long dissertation containing much ingenious speculation, Jacob Bryant of Cypenham, derives Coilus from Coel. The old Latin form Coelus, meant "sacred or Heavenly person."

The learned Camden maintains that Cole is ethnologically from Nicholas; and Lower, an English writer in his essay on Nomenclature adopts this statement. James Edwin Cole, a member of the English branch, treating of the same subject, asserts that the name is probably a contraction of agricola-a tiller of the soilas Cola appears in the Doomsday Survey as the holder of land in various countries in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Other writers affirm boldly that the family name is derived from Coel, one of the Kings of ancient Britain, founder of Colechester, and a descendant of the renowned Caractacus. History also mentions a Justice Cole who lived in the reign of King Alfred, and a valiant soldier Cola, who defeated Sweyne, the savage chieftain of the Danes at Pinhoe in 1001.

In a deed made by King William, the Conqueror, in the year 1070, A. D., special mention is made of "Cole and Arderne and all the Barons in Hampshire, and Wiltshire" etc. "Baron Cole soon after this time," says James Edwin Cole, "accompanied the bold Martin de Tours, or Turribus, on his marauding expedition into Cemaes, South Wales, and became the ancestor of the Welsh family of Coles." (1) William Cole and Ysabella, his wife, are named in the Assize Roll of the county of Cornwall, in the third year of the reign of King John, 1201, A. D. In 1214, A. D., we find mention of Roger Cole who granted to Edith, late wife of Ralph Burdeville, a "capital messuage" and lands in Hoke in the county of Devon. (2) Roger Cole, the son and heir of William Cole, lived in Chumleigh, at Coleton. In the reign of Henry III. he held lands in the county of Cornwall, and was summoned by the King to do military service in person with horses and arms beyond the seas. In 1301, A. D., he took part in the war against the Scots. (3) Roger Cole, his son and heir, lived in the reign of Edward II. His son and heir (4) "Sir John Cole, Knight of Mythway in the parish of Brixham, was knighted in 'Fraunce' before the castles of Ardres by the Erl of Buckingham, Thomas of Woodstock, Lord Deputy for the King."

Sir John Cole married Anne, daughter and heiress to Sir Nicholas Badnegan, Knt., by whom he had issue, (6) Sir William Cole, called Sir William Cole of Tamar, Knt., by Dela-pola. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Beaupell Knt., and was the father of (7) Sir John Cole, "who was in the Retynew" as the old record puts it "of the Duke of Gloucester at the Battell of Agincourt on Friday, XXV day of October, 1415, A. D."

(15) Sir William Cole, fifteenth in descent from the (1) William Cole first mentioned, is the baronial ancestor of the Irish line of the family of Cole. He was the only son of Emanuel Cole, and early in the reign of James I. fixed his residence in the county of Fermanagh, Ireland. September 10, 1607, he was made Captain of the long-boats and barges at Ballyshannon and Lough Earne by patent pursuant to privy signet, with the fee of 3 s. 4 d. a day for himself, and 8d. a piece for ten men.

November 16, 1611, he became an "undertaker" in the Northern Plantation, and had an assignment of a small proportion of Drumskeagh, containing one thousand acres of escheated lands in the county of Fermanagh, at the crown rent of £8; eighty acres whereof were assigned for the town of Enniskillen. In 1617 he was knighted by Lord Deputy St. John, and June 15, 1618, received the grant of a pension of 6 s. English a day.

In the Parliment of 1639, he represented the county of Enniskillen. He was the first to discover the general purpose of the Irish papists under Sir Lord Mcguire, Sir Phelim Roe O'Neil

and others, to take up arms for the purpose of murdering the Lords, Justices and the Protestants of Ireland, and received an appointment under the privy signet dated by the King at Edingburg as colonel of a regiment of five hundred foot for the suppression of the rebels. He was a valiant soldier and served the king faithfully in this war.

Sir William Cole was twice married. His first wife was Susanna, daughter and heiress to John Croft. His second wife was Catherine, the eldest daughter of Sir Lawrence Parsons of Birr, in Kings County, Second Baron of the Exchequer. He left two sons, Michael his heir, ancestor of the earls of Enniskillen, and Sir John Cole, bart. Sir John Cole took a very active part with his father in the relief of Enniskillen. He was instrumental in promoting the restoration of King Charles II. and for these

services was created baronet by patent dated June 23, 1660. He died about the year 1691. The Hon. Lowry Egerton Cole, Viscount, born in 1845, is the twenty-first in descent from (1) William Cole, and sixth from (15) Sir William, Knight of Enniskillen.

The family of Coles were among the earliest colonists who sought fortune and home in the new world of America. They first settled at Jamestown about the year 1616, and shortly afterward at Boston and other points in Massachusetts.

J. R. COLE.

Note: Some of these early families were: The Kool family of New Amsterdam—the Hartford family—the Henry Cole and Plymouth branches—the Salem, Bridgewater and Freetown, (Mass.) families—the Scotch Plains Coles—the Maine family—the Easthman family—the Charleston families of Isaac and Rice Cole—and the Cowles family.

THE PHYSICIAN-POET-ABRAHAM COLES.

ABRAHAM COLES, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D., son of Dennis and Catherine (Van Deursen) Coles, was born December 26, 1813, at Scotch Plains,* New Jersey. His father was then living on the ancestral farm, which he had inherited, its title-deed antedating the Revolution. He was a man

beth town purchase. Tradition says that James Cole, Senior, came from Scotland in the Caledonia sometime prior to the last voyage of that ill-fated vessel which was about 1715, as manifested by the dates. It is probable that he came about 1684, as the settlement at the Blue Hills by colonists from Scotland was made at that time,

^{*}The ancestor of the Cole family of Scotch Plains, New Jersey, is known in the New Jersey records as James Cole, senior. He is mentioned in the East New Jersey Records in the granting of March, 1687. [1688 O. S.] of a warrant for survey of lands in which his name is spelled Coole. His name was spelled Cole, subsequently in the old Eliza-



ENGRALERONS

aboutories



of sterling integrity, sound judgment and rare literary taste. He had been for a number of years, (after an apprenticeship with Shepard Kollock of Revolutionary fame), a printer and editor in Newburg, N. Y., of a newspaper—"The Recorder of the Times." Bound volumes of this paper were preserved and treasured by his son Abraham, in whom he early cultivated his fondness for study and for literature.

As a youth, Dr. Coles manifested a diligent interest in the acquisition of knowledge. Dr. J. W. Craig, of Plainfield, once told me that he well remembered his assiduity as a boy, as, from day to day, he saw him coming all the way from Scotch Plains to Plainfield in order to have the advantage of a better school than he could attend at home. Yet his parents do not seem to have looked forward to his special preparation for a professional life, as we find him for two years in a dry goods store, and as he never entered any college for academic studies. All this time, his love of learning must have led him to private study, for, at the age of seventeen, he assisted Rev. Mr. Bond, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Plainfield, in his school, as teacher of Latin and mathematics.

At eighteen years of age, he had resolved to study law, and entered the office of Chief Justice Joseph C. Hornblower, at Newark. He seems soon to have discovered that he could find

a wider field for usefulness in the practice of medicine than of law, for, in less than a year, he left the office to study for the medical profession. His resolution to make himself acquainted with law was, however, never shaken. Throughout his long life, his fondness for the law and his knowledge thereof was manifested on many occasions.

Having attended lectures at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, and at Jefferson College, Philadelphia, he graduated at the latter in 1835. Returning to his home, he made a profession of his Christian faith, uniting with the Scotch Plains Baptist Church, under the pastorate of the Rev. John Rogers. In 1836 he settled for the practice of the medical profession, in Newark, N. J., and united, by letter, with the First Baptist Church.

Those who knew him in early professional life can well recognize how, with his modesty, diffidence and reserve, he should thus far not have revealed the amount of knowledge he had acquired. Yet those who met him were impressed with his commanding personality, his urbane and quiet dignity, and somehow felt themselves in the presence of a superior nature. Besides thorough preparation in his profession, he evidently had spent much of his time in the study of the classics, and had acquired such accurate knowledge as is possessed by those only who have by personal effort worked their way into the genius and technicalities of a dead language.

In 1842 he married Caroline E., a beautiful and accomplished daughter of Jonathan C., and Maria (Smith) Ackerman, of New Brunswick, N. J. She was very saintly and lovely in character, and much beloved by those who knew her. She died in 1845, leaving a son and a daughter who were henceforth the only companions of his domestic circle. His great loss and his new responsibilities seem to have still more inclined him to devotion to his professional and scholastic studies. In 1848 he went abroad, spending most of his time in hospitals, and in the society of the most eminent physicians and surgeons of Europe. He was in Paris during the Revolution of June, 1848, which gave him special opportunities for surgical study. When the writer entered his office in 1849, he was regarded as the most accomplished practitioner of Newark, and as eminent both for his professional and literary acquirements. He had already found his practice sufficient to admit a partner, which he did all the more readily because seeking to secure more time for literary study, and the indulgence of his taste both in art and literature. He had been favored in and out of his profession with such pecuniary success-resulting mostly from judicious investments in real estate-as enabled him to continue in practice chiefly for the love of his calling. He

was fond of clinical exactness, was often called upon in consultation, especially in surgical cases, and had that conscientious regard for the welfare of his patients which led him carefully to study and observe, so as to be skillful in his treatment and devotedly attentive to those in his charge. In 1854 he again visited Europe. After an absence of seventeen months, during which he made the continental languages a study, he returned to his practice in Newark. He then devoted himself with increased knowledge and earnestness to professional work, and for many years, with another assistant, continued in the active practice of his profession.

In 1862, under the direction of an eminent English landscape gardener, he began the laying out and beautifying of seventeen acres of the ancestral farm at Scotch Plains, selecting for his plantings the choicest varieties of foreign and domestic trees, plants and shrubs. In one portion of this park, he located a reproduction of the famous labyrinth at Hampton Court, near London. In another part, he enclosed a large paddock for a herd of deer of his own raising. He built, subsequently, a house of brick and stone and native woods, in harmony with the grounds. In this he resideda most genial and entertaining hostwith his son, Dr. J. Ackerman Coles,*

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On the highest point of his mountain-land opposite his home, he erected a handsome rustic tower, two stories high, of which he makes mention in the following lines:

The breezy summit of the neighboring Mount Blows bugle-summons, calling to the Muse To climb and meditate the prospect. Pulse Quickens, blood gallops in the veins, and throbs

was born in Newark, N. J., May 6, 1843. Having received thorough preparatory instruction he entered Columbia College and was graduated in 1864, receiving in course his degree of A. M. During his senior year he distinguished himself by winning the "Philolexian Prize for Best Essay," the judges being Prof. Charles Davies, C. M. Nairne and Wm. C. Peck. After graduation he entered, as a student of medicine, the office of Prof. T. G. Thomas, and in 1868 was graduated with honor from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York City. At the college commencement in 1867, he was awarded the Harzen Prize Medal for the best written report of clinical instruction given in the medical and surgical wards of the New York Hospital.

Beginning the practice of his profession in the City of New York, he became a member of the N. Y. County Medical Society and the Impatient, knowing what awaits. O come! Delay not! Hasten! Leave the Plain, or lead Or follow! 'Gainst the steep opposing slope Plant eager feet, and, at each upward step, Look back to see how the horizon widens!

And higher yet keep climbing, till you reach The Tower above the tree-top lifted, so the

Shall leap all barriers to the farthest blue! The Height is holy, and not far from God!

While retiring from the more active duties of a general practice, he was for many years daily at his Newark office; and also, as a favor, allowed many of those who lived near his country home, "Deerhurst," to avail themselves of his advice. In fact, it cannot be said that he relinquished practice at all, or allowed his increasing literary distinction and his business duties to interfere with his devotion to his chosen pursuit. He was

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DEERHURST.

eminently a physician, amid all other eminence. He delighted in his profession, both as a science and as an art. He felt his calling to be a sacred one. It was a part of his ministry for the Master whom he loved to serve. He lived to assuage pain, and to be courageous in relieving sickness and postponing death; rejoicing in the good he was thus enabled to do for humanity and for God.

How loyal he was to his profession, amid the greater glow of literary fame and the temptations of wealthy ease, let "The Microcosm" testify. This poetic address of his, as President of the Medical Society of New Jersey in 1866, should be read and re-read by every physician as an inspiration to accurate knowledge, to

close analysis, to professional enthusiasm, and to adoring love. It leaves a poor excuse for any of us, if we are not inspired by the theme of our studies, and the object of our life-service. It does not ignore that which is material and world-wise, but it crowns it with that which is spiritual and eternal. It shows how we have a mission to fulfill; and how integral and essential Christianity is to those who live to minister to their fellowmen in sickness and in death. As he expresses it in his note as to Vesalius: "The Divine Redeemer, the Incarnate Word, Maker of all things, Lord of life, is Lord also of the Sciences."

In the Physician's edition of "The Microcosm," as published by the Appletons, he introduces several illustrations. One is the portrait of Vesalius devoutly engaged in dissection, which he inserts as illustrative of these lines:

Dear God! this Body, which, with wondrous art

Thou hast contrived, and finished part by part,

Itself a universe, a lesser all,
The greater cosmos crowded in the small—
I kneel before it, as a thing divine;
For such as this, did actually enshrine
Thy gracious Godhead once, when Thou
didst make

Thyself incarnate, for my sinful sake. Thou who hast done so very much for me, O let me do some humble thing for Thee! I would to every Organ give a tongue, That Thy high praises may be fitly sung: Appropriate ministries assign to each, The least make vocal, eloquent to teach.

Another is Rembrandt's well-known "Lesson in Anatomy," which he inserts with the description, beginning thus:

The subject Muscles—girded to fulfil
The lightning mandates of the sovereign
Will—

Th' abounding means of motion, wherein iurk

Man's infinite capacity for work.

A third is "Harvey Demonstrating to Charles I, his theory of the Circulation of the Blood":

Make room, my HEART! that pour'st thyself abroad,

Deep, central, awful mystery of God!

Well may he be called the Physician-Poet! He received the degree of A. M. from Rutger's College. In 1860 he received the degree of Ph. D. from Lewisburg University, and that

of LL. D. in 1871 from The College of New Jersey, Princeton.

Dr. Coles had reached such a vigorous old age as still to promise many years of life. In the early spring (1891), he had the prevailing influenza, which left him with a cough, and some mild symptoms which puzzled him, as they have so many others, but which seemed to give no occasion for alarm. As a recreation, he proposed a trip to California with his son and daughter and a sister-in-law. They left home April 14th, but the trip was a disappointing one, and he grew weaker instead of stronger. After a week's stay at the beautiful Hotel del Monte, California, where he received every possible courtesy and attention, heart complication suddenly set in as a sequel to "La Grippe." He was confined to his room but two days. He calmly realized the serious nature of his symptoms. With great peace he bade adieu to his loved ones, reminded them to repeat, each morning, the Lord's Prayer, and to aid the objects dearest to his heart; then, with words of Christian faith and love, passed away, (May 3d, 1891), to be, as one of his own hymns so well expresses it-

> Ever, my Lord, with Thee, Ever with Thee! Through all eternity Thy face to see! I only ask to be Ever my Lord, with Thee, Ever with Thee!

The funeral of Dr. Coles took place

at the First Baptist Peddie Memorial Church, Newark, N. J., May 29th, and was largely attended by his medical and literary friends, and those in other walks of life who had known him in the various relations he had sustained. The appropriate rendering of four of his hymns added solemnity to the occasion, and emphasis to the many tributes to his earnest Christian life. His remains were interred in Willow Grove Cemetery, New Brunswick, N. J., beside those of his wife.

The death of Dr. Coles was extensively noticed and commented upon, at the time by the press, religious and secular; and many letters of sympathy, mingled with expressions of respect and regard for the departed, were received by the members of his family.

The following extract is from an editorial which appeared in the "Newark Daily Advertiser:"

"The sudden death of Dr. Abraham Coles, will cause a deep feeling of sadness, not only among the medical profession, of which he was a distinguished member, but among the generation which loved and appreciated his rare virtues and sterling qualities of mind and heart. He sprang from fine old New Jersey stock, and inherited the literary, artistic and scientific tastes which he afterwards developed with conscientious and painstaking culture. He was a man of strong religious faith, positive political convictions, and inflexible purity of character. He had walked the hospitals of Paris, where he became an accomplished surgeon; and he practiced his profession with marked success. At the same time he devoted a large share of his energies to classical studies, and attracted the attention of literary men on both sides of the ocean by his careful translations of the famous old lyrics, 'Dies Iræ' and 'Stabat Mater,' which were published in book form, with illustrations which he selected from the best works of the old masters. He was also the author of many poems and reviews, and articles on various subjects of popular interest. As one of the founders of the old Newark Library, and the New Jersey Historical Society, and on account of his active efforts in the promotion of the religious, educational and scientific development of this city, his memory will be cherished with lasting affection and respect."

The New York Tribune said:

"Dr. Abraham Coles was widely known as a scholar, author and linguist. He was born at Scotch Plains, N. J., and spent the last years of his life there on his beautiful place, which was much resorted to by literary and professional people. For more than fifty years he pursued his literary studies and work and became proficient in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Sanskrit and the modern languages."

The following striking tribute is from the Rt. Rev. John Williams, D. D. LL. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut.

"I honored and reverenced Dr. Abraham Coles. I always read his delightful writings with pleasure and profit. There was an aroma of purity and godly grace about them that was particularly attractive. The world is richer for such a life, and poorer for his loss."

The Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts, writes:

"All that concerns Dr. Abraham Coles is of great interest to me, for I have long known his work and valued it."

This sketch would be incomplete without some fuller allusion to his literary labors, and to the marked



LABVRINTH AT DEERHURST.

traits of his character. Soon after he settled in Newark, he became a contributor to the Newark Daily Advertiser, and early showed an interest in education, in a public library, in temperance movements, and in all objects looking to the welfare of society. Rarely attending any public meetings, he gave expression to his views in an occasional address, and in the columns of the daily journals.

In poetry and prose, his literary taste and learning soon came to be recognized, and he had a local reputation long before he was more generally known.* It was, perhaps, his first translation of "Dies Iræ" (1847), that arrested the attention of linguists and scholars throughout the world. It was a difficult task to undertake, as there were several versifications of it

by authors of classical note and learning. As he followed it, from time to time, with sixteen other versions, it was seen what opulence of resource was at his command.

Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff, in his recent work, "Literature and Poetry," referring to these says, "A physician, Abraham Coles, has made (of the 'Dies Iræ') seventeen versions in all, which show a rare fertility and versatility, and illustrate the possibilities of versification without altering the sense."

His translations of various other Latin hymns, as contained in his volume, "Latin Hymns with Original

^{*}The catalogues of many of the libraries of Europe, especially those of Oxford and Cambridge, England, show the possession of one or more of the published works of Dr. Abraham Coles.

Translations," will ever be the admiration of scholars. "The Evangel" and "The Light of the World" give the Gospel story of our Lord in verse, with notes full of devotion and learning. His great love to Christ was his crowning excellence.

The Right Honorable John Bright, M. P., in a letter to Dr. Coles says:

132 Picadilly, London, April 30, 1885.

"When I began to read your volume on 'The Life and Teachings of Christ in Verse,' I thought you had attempted to gild the refined gold, and would fail—as I proceeded in my reading that idea gradually disappeared, and I discovered that you had brought the refined gold together in a manner convenient and useful and deeply interesting. I have read the volume with all its notes, many of which seem to me of great value. I could envy you the learning and the industry that have enabled you produce this remarkable work. I hope it may have many readers in all countries where our language is spoken."

John G. Whittier says: "Dr. Coles is a born hymn writer. He has left us, as a legacy of inestimable worth, some of the sweetest of Christian hymns. His 'All the Days' and his 'Ever with Thee' are immortal songs. It is better to have written them than the stateliest of epics. No man living or dead has so rendered the text and the spirit of the old and wonderful Latin hymns."

While these studies show his profound learning in the Greek and Latin languages, it is only when we look to the studies of his last years, in "A New Rendering of the Hebrew Psalms into English Verse," that we come to know of his knowledge of Oriental languages; of the vast realms of scholarship he had explored. But his stately and commanding prose has almost been obscured by his poetry. The marvel of all his books is in their introductions and notes. Whole folios of recondite learning are opened up in modest foot-notes, and the reader knows he is in company with one who has been delving and digging in the richest mines of unexplored knowledge. His sharp, quick sentences of introduction and the grasp which he shows of his theme, are at once an admiration and a surprise.

His style has individuality as much as that of Dr. Johnson or of Thomas Carlyle. There is no conformity to the style of any favorite author, or to the modes of thought of any formal logician, but a forging of weighty words, wrought out from the depths of great inner feelings and conceptions.* Others will more fully analyze these mementoes of his great-

^{*}Dr. Coles has left, in manuscript, Translations of the whole of Bernard of Clairvaux's "Address to the Various Members of Christ's Body Hanging on the Cross," consisting of three hundred and seventy lines; the whole of Hildebert's "Address to the Three Persons of the Most Holy Trinity"; the first book of Vida's "Christiad"; several additional Latin hymns; selections from the Greek and Latin classics; and other writings in poetry and prose on literary, medical, and scientific subjects. In his introduction to "The Evangel," Dr. Coles says: "The auther has sought to cast down and tread under foot all egotisms, vanities and low ambitions; and if

ness, but we who are physicians, may well linger in admiration, and rejoice that one of our profession should have so adorned a literature already rich in contributions from those educated in medical science, and proficient in medical art.

But the crown of all was his wonderful character. He did everything with conscientious precision and thoroughness: he was always after the depth of things. How he would sometimes work over the wording of a line, and then over a note that brought out his fullest meaning. So, too, he worked in his profession.

Bishop John H. Vincent, D. D. LL. D., Chancellor of the Chautauqua University, says: "Dr. Abraham Coles was a magnificent man, physically, intellectually and spiritually; he was one among ten thousand. Who can doubt the great doctrine of immortality in the presence of such a life."

His respectful bearing toward all

had its seat in a profound reverence. He was reverent of humanity because of his intense reverence for God and all his works. He studied nature and in his weakness and unworthiness he has done anything to make the adorable Redeemer the object of a warmer love and a firmer trust; to draw closer the bands of a common brotherhood in an undivided fellowship of Christian love; to make the Bible

seem a dearer and a diviner book-its pages

more luminous, its promises more precious,

the heaven it reveals more certain-he would

prize it infinitely more than the greatest epic

success."

the Bible and the inner consciousness of the spiritual life with the same majestic, adoring insight. He was not religious by an effort. "I have" says Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "always considered it a great privilege to enjoy the friendship of so pure and lofty a spirit; a man who seemed to breathe holiness as his native atmosphere, and to carry its influence into his daily life."

Had he not been poet, he would have been painter, or musical composer, because in no other way could his enthusiasm have found symmetrical expression. When he issued a book its typographical execution must be complete. He visited the great picture galleries of Europe. and at large expense selected the choicest specimens of ancient art to illustrate his themes. These gave expression to his character not less than to his taste.

When he wrote hymns it was because the inner music of his soul had to be set to metrical expression. He was a genius, but it was chiefly character and life that flowed out through his writings. He became familiar with little children easier than with all others, because in them he saw more of nature, and more of faith, hope and charity. He believed in his profession, because in it he realized the possibilities of high science and applied art for the uses of humanity, and so could be co-worker with the Great Physician, who went about doing good. His memory is cherished because we cherish skill, character, usefulness, and rejoice in having such a model. Such lives do not die, but live as incentives for those of all the ages. We cannot reach his fame, but we can imitate his devotion to knowledge, his reverence for life and goodness, his desire for usefulness, his holy faith, his humble affection for the good, the beautiful, the true.

EZRA M. HUNT.

CHICAGO PIONEERS.

NATHAN MEARS.

gan was admitted into the Union as a State, Nathan Mears, then a young man twenty years of age, became a resident of the frontier hamlet of Paw Paw, situated in the midst of a region of country which had just begun to experience the vivifying effects of immigration from the Eastern States. He was of New England birth and parentage, and it is hardly necessary to say more to convey the idea that he had received proper educational and industrial training, and was therefore well prepared to enter upon a successful business career, in a country of wonderful resources, and entering upon an era of phenomenal development.

Born in Billerica, Massachusetts, Dec. 30, 1815, Mr. Mears was the son of Nathan Mears, a descendant of Robert Mears, who settled in Billerica sometime prior to 1726, when his name first appears in the public records of that town. His mother's maiden name was Lucy Livingston,

In 1836, about the time that Michian was admitted into the Union as State, Nathan Mears, then a young an twenty years of age, became a sident of the frontier hamlet of some time before 1677.

Nathan Mears, Sr., was a merchant of North Billerica, a land-owner and man of affairs, who died in 1828 leaving what was looked upon in those days as a considerable fortune. For eight years prior to his death he had held the office of selectman in Billerica, and was one of the most esteemed citizens of that somewhat famous old town.

His death left his children orphans, his wife having died two years earlier. Nathan Mears, the son, was twelve years of age at the time of his father's death, and soon thereafter, under the care of a duly appointed guardian, went to the academy at Billerica. His education was completed at Westford, and when between sixteen and seventeen years of age, he began his business career as a clerk in one of the stores of Lowell. A

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Nathan Mears



few months later he went to Boston, where he became a clerk in the wholesale and retail dry goods store of Nichols & Leeds on Hanover street, remaining there three years. At the end of that time he emigrated with his two brothers to Michigan, and began life as one of the pioneers of Paw Paw. This frontier village, or settlement,-it could hardly be called a village,—was one hundred and sixty miles west of Detroit, on the stage line which then constituted the overland connection between Detroit and Chicago. The country little resembled that in which he had been brought up. It was sparsely settled and the Indians still constituted the larger portion of the population; nevertheless the young immigrants from Massachusetts thought they saw a good opening for trade, and they started a general merchandising establishment, where they sold everything the settlers wanted to buy, and bought everything they had to sell. In 1839 Mr. Mears purchased the interests of his two brothers in the store and continued the business alone until 1849. Battle Creek, Michigan, was a not very distant town, to which the young merchant made somewhat frequent visits, and there he formed the acquaintance of Miss Ann Elizabeth Gilbert, a young lady who had been born in Salem, New York, and, brought up in the city of Rochester, emigrating from there to Michigan with her parents. In 1840 Mr. Mears and Miss Gilbert were

married and established their home in Paw Paw, where they continued to reside until 1850.

While Mr. Mears did a thriving business at Paw Paw, he did not find himself accumulating a fortune rapidly. Hard times followed the financial disturbances of 1837. The currency of that period,-as all Western pioneers remember,-was unstable, and conducting any kind of business according to the approved methods of older communities was almost an impossibility. Bartering methods were in vogue all over the West, and the country merchant in the course of a year's trade accumulated more or less of all kinds of movable property. In this way Mr. Mears became interested to some extent in enterprises other than merchandising-among other things, in packing pork and shipping flour, sending to the Eastern markets the first shipments of these products from Van Buren County.

In 1849 he sold his store at Paw Paw, and the following spring removed to Chicago, where he asociated himself with his brother, Charles Mears, in the lumber business, under the firm name of Charles Mears & Co. It was this move which "led on to fortune." All over the West cities were springing into existence, and the material for building these cities was to be supplied largely by the pine forests of Michigan, with Chicago as a distributing point. The business which Mr. Mears and his

brother began in a comparatively small way, soon expanded to considerable proportions, and to keep pace with the demand for more extensive operations and increased capital, they associated with them Eli Bates, and at a later date John Baldwin, who came from their native town in Massachusetts. In 1850 the brothers divided their interests, Nathan Mears becoming the head of the firm of Mears, Bates & Co. James C. Brooks and George H. Ambrose became interested with them at a later date and this firm became one of the best known among those engaged in the lumber business in the West.

In 1865 they became interested in the manufacture of lumber, as part owners of a large mill at Oconto, Michigan, and later organized the Oconto Lumber Co., of which Mr. Mears became vice-president. This company at once began acquiring large bodies of land, upon which to draw for supplies of timber, and now owns something like one hundred thousand acres, from which millions of feet of lumber have been sent into the markets, fifty millions having been manufactured within the past year. In addition to establishing planing mills at Oconto, from which dressed lumber is shipped direct to all markets, this company also operates now another mill at Nahma, Michigan.

While largely interested in the manufacture of lumber, and in timberlands acquired in connection therewith, the firm of Mears, Bates & Co. continued to carry on an extensive wholesale and retail business in Chicago,—handling, on an average, from twenty to fifty million feet of lumber each year,—until 1881, when Mr. Bates died. Mr. Mears's son, Charles H. Mears, then became associated with him, and became the head of the firm upon his father's retirement a year or two since.

For nearly forty years Mr. Mears has been one of the active, energetic, and sagacious business men of Chicago. Coming to the city with limited means,-scarcely more than a few hundred dollars,-he has accumulated a large fortune, and is recognized as one of the leading promoters of a great Western industry. Never a speculator in Western lands, he has engaged for forty years, in supplying, as far as he could, the demand for one of the principal products of the northwest, and to this business he has given a skillful and intelligent direction which has been productive of splendid results. Prompt and energetic action have been at all times a distinguishing characteristic of his business career. When he received a telegram,-at one time-informing him that the mills at Oconto had been destroyed by fire, and asking him to come up and see what should be done, he telegraphed back to the resident manager that he didn't care to look at the ruins and instructed him to clear away the debris and get ready to re-build. Again when twelve

million feet of lumber was lost by this firm through the Chicago fire of October, 1871, he chartered vessels and had five million feet brought to the yards before navigation closed.

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As a citizen of Chicago he has always been highly esteemed. A Unitarian in his religious belief he was one of those most active in building up Unity Church, of which Rev. Robert Collyer, the famous divine, was so long a pastor. It was largely through his influence that Mr. Collyer became identified with the church and a warm friendship has existed between them for many years.

A republican in politics, he was most actively interested with the patriotic citizens of Chicago in their efforts to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion from 1861 to 1865. After the capture of Fort Donelson, when a large number of Federal gunboats and transports were sent back to Cairo for repairs, the citizens of Chicago raised a fund of twelve hundred dollars, and sent Mr. Mears with a force of one hundred and twenty ship carpenters and calkers, to aid in making the repairs, in order that there might be as little delay as possible in following up the advantage gained. These men he landed at Cairo, procured for them quarters and subsistence under great difficulties, turned them over to the government authorities, and returned to Chicago to hand over to the donors all but a very small portion of the money contributed to expedite the movement.

While giving to his business interests the care and attention necessary to success, Mr. Mears has found time for extensive travel, both in the United States and abroad. In 1876, accompanied by Mrs. Mears, he traveled leisurely through Europe, taking time for intelligent observation, and endeavoring to visit all points of general interest.

They made a tour of the English lakes and visited the principal cities in Germany and Austria, the lakes and mountains of Switzerland, Holland and the far-famed Rhine. Returning to Paris they set out again in less traveled paths, visiting Italy and the Italian lakes, Constantine and Algiers, and making an extended tour of Spain on their way back to Paris and London. To this trip Mr. and Mrs. Mears gave more time than American tourists usually do, who visit the world's most famous places.

In 1890 Mr. and Mrs. Mears celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage, and the following, clipped from an account of that event, will give some idea of the environment of their later years, and of the regard entertained for them by their friends and associates:

"To Mr. and Mrs. Mears there came last evening every evidence of human love, of lasting friendship, of times' favors, and of fortune's blessings. For fifty years they have walked side by side through the long pathway of life, finding blessings in their own companionship and victory

in their own devotion. Perhaps a few roses from the life of Mr. and Mrs. Mears were missing last evening, but the vacancy was hardly discernible, for they stood among hunliving roses, among dreds of fond friends, among loving relaamong devoted children, tives. among beauty-touched grandchildren." There came to them on that occasion letters of congratulation from friends in all parts of the country and other tokens of kindest remembrance. Among the latter was one which brought up a reminiscence of the war period. It was from Mr. Mears's son-in-law and was accompanied by a letter which read as follows:

"Mr. Nathan Mears. Dear Old Man: Sunday the 21st of April, 1861, while at dinner with some young friends at your house, you handed me a twenty dollar gold coin, saying: 'Jona. take this along, and if you can make no better use of it break it up and shoot it at the darned Rebels.' I had enlisted in Barker's Chicago Dragoons two days before. As we had plenty of ammunition I kept the coin. Knowing, your fondness for hard money, and the color being right, I thought I would, on this happy occasion, hand it back to you as a memento of your younger patriotic days. Sincerely yours, J. Slade."

In addition to the son mentioned as his successor in business Mr. Mears's family consists of two daughters—Mrs. Jonathan Slade and Mrs. James R. McKay—each the wife of a prominent citizen of Chicago.

HENRY F. LEWIS.

HENRY FRANCIS LEWIS who died in Chicago, February 27, 1892, and who had been identified with the city long enough to be regarded as one of the pioneers among its successful business men, was a worthy representative of the New England element which has contributed so largely to the thrift, the industry, and the prosperity of the Western States. He was one of the large number of native New Englanders, who came to what was then the "far west," during the decade immediately preced-

ing the breaking out of the Civil war, to become in a great measure, the leaders in developing the resources and building up the commerce of Chicago and its tributary country.

A comparatively small number of these men have figured conspicuously in public life—because as a rule, they seem to have had little taste for politics, with its invariable tendency to demoralize the business interests of those engaged in seeking political preferment—but in the commercial activities of Chicago, their careers



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have been notably interesting. The possessors of greatest wealth in Chicago to-day are men of New England origin, who came to the city between 1850 and 1860, and their fortunes are almost without exception of their own creation, within the thirty or forty years since their coming west. Very few of them appear to have come west as capitalists, or even with sufficient means to engage in business on their own account, and their economic training, industry and great capacity for labor have been their real capital.

Henry F. Lewis belonged to this class of quiet and unostentatious but thorough-going and eminently successful men of affairs. He was born in Sterling, Connecticut, December 4, 1832, and brought up on a farm. His father, Jareb Lewis, was of Welsh parentage, his paternal ancestor having immigrated to this country and settled in New England. His mother was Olive (Tucker) Lewis, whose ancestors were among the early colonists of New England.

Jareb Lewis, in addition to being a farmer, was interested to some extent in the manufacture of charcoal—and the son, Henry, divided his time in early boyhood between the country schools, the farm and the charcoal furnaces. He acquired an excellent business education, through making good use of the time which could be spared from his industrial pursuits, first in the common schools, and later at the noted Plainfield

Academy, in which no small number of eminent men have received instruction.

When about twenty years of age, desiring to learn the trade of machinist, he went to Paterson, N. I., where he was employed for a year or more in the famous locomotive works of that city. He was not satisfied to remain there, however, two brothers having preceded him to Illinois, from whom he had flattering reports of the opportunities for building up fortunes, which the west afforded. In 1853 he determined to come to Chicago, and arrived here with such limited means that it became necessary for him to engage, at once, in remunerative employment. He accordingly accepted a position as fireman on the locomotive of a construction train, on what is now the Chicago and Alton railroad then just being completed, and, the knowledge which he had gained in the locomotive works at Paterson, serving him to good purpose, he was soon promoted to engineer.

After having been engaged some time in this employment, he became associated with his two brothers in Chicago in the real estate business. Their operations in realty consisted largely in the sale of western farm lands in Illinois, Missouri and Wisconsin, to the immigrants then flocking into Chicago. In carrying on this business it was necessary that one of the members of the firm should give attention to the location of settlers, the selection of lands

suitable to meet the demands of home seekers, the establishment of boundaries, etc. Having acquired during his school days some knowledge of surveying, and being also a good judge of lands, Mr. Lewis was well equipped for looking after this branch of the business, and it fell to him to travel extensively through what was then unimproved and undeveloped portions of the country. Many of his trips had to be made on foot, and attended by no small amount of discomfort, and not a few hardships. Their business, however, proved remunerative, and while his share of the profits was not large, it was sufficient to give him a start in a business which he was quick to perceive afforded great opportunities for building up fortunes.

When the Chicago Board of Trade -which had been organized some years prior to his coming west-began to exercise an important influence in gathering and marketing the products of the millions of acres of fertile lands brought under cultivation in the west, Mr. Lewis in Sept. 1861, connected himself with the Board, and launched out into the grain trade. He proceeded, in the fall of that year, to establish warehouses at Lincoln, Elkhart and Atlanta, on the line of the Chicago & Alton Railroad, and soon became an extensive shipper of all kinds of grain. To this business he gave pretty much all his time and attention until 1871, when he sold his membership in the Board and retired, with a comfortable fortune.

As a member of the Board of Trade, he belonged to the school of traders, who deal in actual commodities, and always condemned purely speculative trading. What he sold he was always ready to deliver, and when he bought grain, he expected to receive what he contracted for. Anything else was, in his opinion, a species of gambling discreditable to the men engaged in it, and to the organization which had been called into existence for the purpose of promoting the sale of farm products.

After his retirement from the grain trade, he gave his attention to looking after his realty interests-which had become extensive, and at a later date to the care and conservation of the large estates of his two brothers, who died in Chicago. One of these brothers, Allen C. Lewis, acting in accordance with the wishes of the other brother, John Lewis,-the bulk of whose property had been devised to him-left a large bequest for the purpose of founding the "Lewis Polytechnic Institute," and as one of the trustees of the estate, Henry F. Lewis, gave much time and study to forwarding this project.

Married in 1875 to Miss Ada Fellows of Wauregan, Connecticut, daughter of Rev. Silenus Fellows, for many years pastor of the Congregational Church of that town, he established his home in Chicago, living quietly in the city a portion of each

year, and spending the remainder of his time with his family in the neighborhood of his wife's early home in New York State.

As a business man he was conspicuous among his associates, not only for his success, but for his probity, fairness and honorable methods. In everything he was eminently practical, and this was as much manifest in his charitable and benevolent work as in his business undertakings. Having made his way through the world by dint of his own efforts, he had always a kindly sympathy for those whom he found starting out in life as he had started, and interested himself particularly in advancing men who were struggling to obtain a foothold in the business world, Reserved in his disposition and manners, he was at the same time warmhearted and genial, and drew around him a circle of devoted and loving friends. Next to his home he was devoted to the church with which he affiliated, and its interests. He was a member of the New England Congregational Church in Chicago, of which he was one of the most substantial supporters. In the Home Mission work of the church he took an especial interest. Young men who were gathered into the church through this agency were objects of his special care and solicitude as long as he sustained to them the relation of teacher in the mission school, and they were not lost sight of by him outside of the schools. He not only advised them as to the affairs of every day life, but gave them substantial encouragement, and in this way helped to make of them good and useful citizens.

J. P. BISHOP.





RECENT HISTORICAL PULICATIONS.

"CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, HIS LIFE AND WORK," by Charles Kendall Adams, LL. D., President of Cornell University. New York, Dodd, Mead and Co., 1892 ("Makers of America" Series).

It is eminently fit that the work on Columbus should head the list of a series on the Makers of America. For although as John Fiske avers, the discovery of America would soon have inevitably come to the foreground in the evolution of history, and although as President Adams rightly observes that in 1500 the accidental discovery of the coast of Brazil by the Portuguese Admiral, Pedro Cabral, would have given a New Hemisphere to the world, if it had not been given eight years earlier-yet after all Columbus did discover America for all practical purposes in 1402, and this afforded all the rest of the Makers of America their chance to distinguish themselves, and to form the subjects of this interesting and bright series of books.

In the compass of a little volume quickly read and easily handled, Pres. Adams has presented a view of Columbus, that is exceedingly satisfactory in the way of fulness. We are rapidly carried along, but we feel that we are carried over the entire field, and are not allowed to miss any important or significant details. The division is an easy and logical one, readily retained in the mind, a skeleton to be filled up by the rapid narra-

tive before us, or by the reading of more elaborate works. Chap, I. tells us of "Early Years," next comes one on "Attempts to Secure Assistance." This gradually brings us to the great event of Columbus' life, and his career as affected thereby, which vastly important period is treated and grouped about his four voyages. A last chapter brings before us the final scene, and a judicious summary of his character. It must be said that Pres. Adams carefully weighs the acts of Columbus, without an undue anxiety to attack the estimate which the pages of Irving awaken within the reader; nor disposed to maintain that estimate intact. With all due allowances there are some things that Columbus did which were unmitigatedly mean and eminently unwise. But these do not impair his character as a discoverer, or as one of the great men of his-

THE STORY OF CHICAGO. By Joseph Kirkland. Chicago. Dibble Publishing Company. 1892.

This account of a city, in some respects the most remarkable in America, is in a style breezy and entertaining—appropriate to the subject. Mr. Kirkland is well known as the author of Zury, The McVeys, Captain of Company K—novels of western and army life of unique interest. He writes the story

of Chicago in the frankest spirit, describing those traits and characteristics of the western metropolis which would not everywhere be thought complimentary, but doing it in the spirit of the proud son, not afraid of criticism, and knowing that the city itself has a career so wonderful that it can well afford to have its history simply told.

Mr. Kirkland does not shudder at the derivation of the city's name from the Indian wild garlick or onion; but accepting the designation boldly moralizes: "The word denotes something 'strong;' whether like a giant or like a leek. Giants have their faults and onions have their virtues, ... A little bulb, strong, hardy, and wholesome, sustaining the famishing wanderer: A great metropolis, powerful, kindly and gay, feed-

ing the hungry world—let who will rail at either. Chicago should forestall criticism by adopting the Chi-ca-gou, from root to flower, as her civic emblem. 'Gare a qui touche.' Touch it who dare."

This book of nearly five hundred pages, and with as many illustrations, begins at the very first of the French explorations in Louisiana and traces the not unromantic, and certainly phenomenal and unparalleled rise of this great, busy, booming western mart. All the earlier history is dwelt upon at length. The story of the great fire is told anew, with unsuspected freshness. The breeze of the prairies is in all the paragraphs of this delightful Story of Chicago, and it is so interesting that we hope to recur to it again with extended quotations and comments.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Historical Society (Los Angeles) of Southern California, held an interesting meeting on April 27th. The object of this meeting was to further plans for preserving and checking the rapid decay of the valued historical landmarks of California, particularly the old Missions. The meeting was presided over by C. P. Dorland and Rev. Father Adam, who is deeply interested in this work, gave a description of his first visit to the mission at San Juan Capistrano and sketched its history from the date of its completion in 1806 to the present day.

An Historical Society has recently (April 23d), been organized in Pomfret, (Conn.) Articles of Association were adopted and the following officers elected: President, Horace Sabin, Vice-President, E. P. Hayward; Secretary, Frederick Mathewson.

The seventeenth anniversary of the organization of the Maine Historical Society which

was appropriately observed at Portland on Monday evening, April 11th, was a notable gathering in its historical significance and distinguished personnel. The Society, founded two years after Maine became a State, has had a most conspicuous record, and its influence in the right interpretation of the early colonization of Maine and the subsequent notable events in its history, have commanded the attention of historians and publicists. Among its officers, members, and special workers, have been a long line of eminent names who have done distinguished service in the cause of historic investigation. The twenty-three volumes of its collections, proceedings and historic documents, are a rich legacy to coming generations; and the magnificent library, embracing more than ten thousand volumes and thirteen thousand pamphlets, is a monument of ever increasing value.

The Massachusetts Historical Society,

(Boston), held a meeting on April 12th, with the president, Dr. Ellis, in the chair. The president presented in the name of E. F. Waters, a manuscript diary kept by Rev. Eli Forbes, D. D., of North Brookfield, during the year 1762, including an account of a visit to the Tuscarora Indians. A copy of the diary kept during a part of the siege of Boston by Rev. Benjamin Boardman, chaplain of the Second Connecticut Regiment was also presented. This diary adds appreciably to our knowledge of the camp life around Boston.

Dr. S. A. Green presented an original letter from John Tulley, a well-known maker of almanacs in this country, to his publisher, Benjamin Harris, written in 1694. Tully was one of the first to begin the new year with January, instead of March, as was then the common practice; and it was not until half a century later that the new style was legally adopted in place of the old style, by act of parliament. Rev. E. G. Porter gave a very interesting account of the voyage of the ship Columbia, and the discovery and naming of the Columbia River, which is just now the occasion of the first centennial anniversary in Oregon.

The Dedham Historical Society (Mass.) held a regular meeting on May 2d, at which Mr. A. A. Lovell presented a paper concerning the first reading of the Declaration of Independence in Massachusetts.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Harford Historical Society was held in Bel Air, Md., on April 23d. A third installment of the Chew papers, which were in the possession of Dr. Forwood have been arranged by Mr. Silver, the secretary.

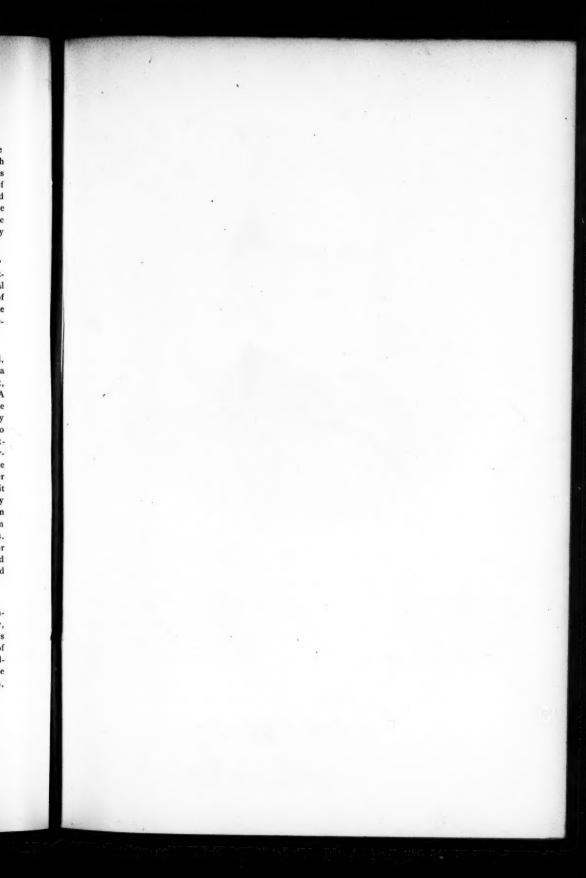
Dr. Geo. W. Archer presented a valuable collection of original Revolutionary papers, which were discovered by the late Judge Bateman in a mass of old papers which had been gathered from the closets and corners of the Court House to be taken away and burned. Dr. Archer, in presenting these

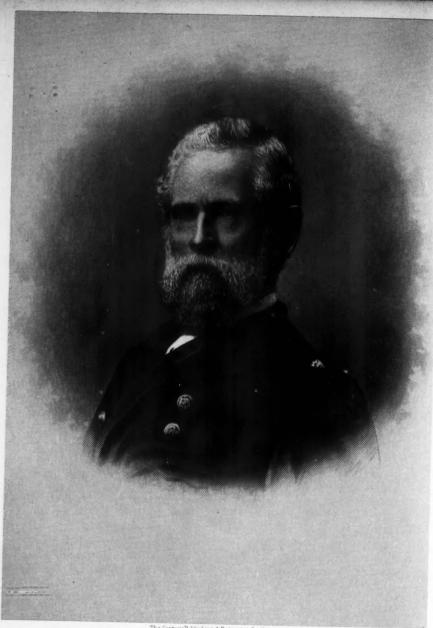
relics, read an interesting paper, descriptive of their contents and of the times with which they form a connecting link. Also extracts from the "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Revolutionary Committee of Harford County in 1774, '5, '6, and '7," which he made in 1889 from a complete copy made many years ago by Mrs. Sophia McHenry from the original, now lost.

Rev. Dr. John G. Morris read an interesting address before the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, April 11th, descriptive of a trip he made several years ago with George Bancroft, the historian, to Braddock's battlefield.

The Historical Society of Rhode Island, (Providence), on May 4th, listened to a paper by William D. Ely, on the subject, "A Keyhole for Roger Williams' Key; or A Study of a Portion of the Earth and the Fruits Thereof." Members of the Society were puzzled to know what the paper was to be about, and in consequence a large attendance was present to hear and understand. The real subject was found to be "Beans." Roger Williams wrote a chapter on the products of the new world on his visit to England in 1643, and it has been generally supposed that he omitted to mention "beans" while elsewhere he refers to them as one of the articles of food of the Indians. Mr. Ely contends that the last words in Roger Williams list which reads "barns and old barns" is a typographical error, and should read, "beans and old beans,"

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, gifts of a large number of books were reported, also an autograph letter of General George Washington, dated Philadelphia, Feb. 27th, 1797, addressed to George W. P. Curtis, then a student at Princeton, from Colonel T. M. R. Tallcott.





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